BRITISH EVANGELICAL MISSIONS TO SWEDEN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Elizabeth D. Bini

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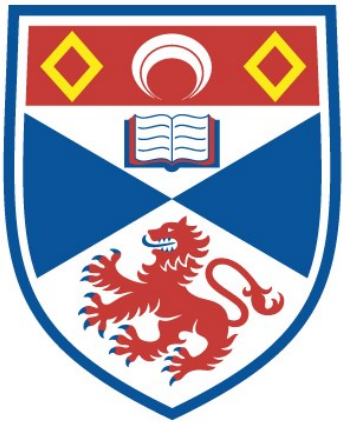
at the
University of St Andrews



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submitted by

Elizabeth D. Bini

For the degree of Ph.D.
of the University of
St. Andrews.

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ABSTRACT

Early in the nineteenth century, four Christian missionaries went from Great Britain to Sweden - from one Christian country to another. The free evangelical type of Christianity which they represented was vastly different from the orthodox Lutheran Christianity in Sweden and made a lasting impact on Swedish Christians. It is the aim of this study to show, by bringing together the total efforts of these missionaries, that their work was directly involved in and in many respects led to the rise of evangelical Christianity, the revivals at the middle of the century, and to the abrogation of the Conventicle Edict, which was the beginning of religious freedom in Sweden.

Basic information was available through early non-critical biographies of three of the men, while a more recent in-depth biography has been written on the fourth. Information concerning their work was found in many letters from these men and others in the archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and the Baptist Missionary Society in London; of the United Society for Christian Literature (formerly the Religious Tract Society) in Guildford; and of the Congregational Church in Edinburgh. Minutes of the Committees of these organizations as well as their annual reports provided further information. In Sweden, the archives of the Evangelical Society, the Swedish Bible Society, the Swedish Temperance Society, the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo and the Evangelical Nativeland Society, all in Stockholm, furnished primary material.

Through information gathered from these sources, together with help from various historical accounts, the vital contributions of these men

to the religious life in Sweden at that time is examined and discussed. Their work is shown to have provided an impetus which sparked the early revivals into a burning movement by mid-century and which played a significant part in the development of freedom of religion in Sweden.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor James K. Cameron.

Elizabeth D. Bini

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Elizabeth D. Bini has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1967, No.1, and that she is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Professor James K. Cameron,
St. Mary's College,
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A final but very special word of thanks is extended to many members of staff at St. Andrews University: To the Rev. Professor James K. Cameron for his help as my supervisor; to Mr. Dugald MacArthur, former librarian of the University for my initiation into the operational intricacies of the library; to the office staff of St. Mary's College for their help and infinite patience; and to the several members of the library staff who spent many hours helping me locate the books and articles needed for my work.

INTRODUCTION

The abolition of the Conventicle Edict (Konventikelplakatet) in Sweden in 1858 followed a great wave of religious revivals throughout the land. It was the first of several acts of the Parliament which eventually led to complete freedom of religion in that land with the downfall of the Estate Parliament in 1865. For this reason, 1858 is considered by many to be one of the most significant years in the history of the church in Sweden.

Enacted by the Consistory of the Swedish Church in 1726, the Conventicle Edict forbad the people to gather for any religious purpose outside the church or their own homes. Any meeting - or conventicle - in a home or elsewhere at which a group of people other than one's immediate family gathered to sing hymns, read the Bible or join in common prayer was declared illegal, and any who attended such a meeting was subject to severe fines and even exile. When added to the earlier Edict of 1663 which instructed the church authorities to take care that no preaching or teaching should be permitted that would destroy the peace or unity of the state church, the church and state joined forces to safeguard religious unity in the country through legislation.

But as has so often occurred throughout history, attempts to impose limits upon men's freedom of religion was to invite men's express desire to transgress those laws and to seek and explore new ideas and thinking. Within Christian history, such laws seem, in spite of their creators' good intents to protect and direct, to defy the limitless scope and energy of the Holy Spirit to inspire the minds of men to seek new areas of thought and worship, as well as to reform error and decay in the old and established.

So it was almost inevitable that some new ideas and thinking should eventually penetrate the iron curtain of religious unity with which the Swedish church had striven to insulate the country. The first and perhaps the most important of these was Pietism, which came to Sweden early in the eighteenth century from Germany. Within a relatively short period of time, a large number of the clergy had been influenced by it and were known to be Pietists. It was when this was made known to the authorities, together with the information that conventicles were being held in several parishes that the edict was issued by the king in 1726. During the one hundred and thirty two years that this edict was in force, many new ideas in theological thought did penetrate the strong legal barriers of the church, carried within men's minds and strangthened by the convictions of their hearts.

Many inspired men and women, not only from Sweden but from other lands as well made their contributions to the events leading up to 1858. Four men in particular, all Scots, who made significant contributions came from Great Britain and considered themselves to be missionaries - from one Christian country to another. The first two were John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson, whose original intent was to go to India as missionaries, sent out by the Haldane Congregational churches in Edinburgh in 1805. The frustration of their plans through circumstances completely unforeseen and beyond their control, which came to be considered by them to be the direction of the Holy Spirit, led them to Sweden in 1808 where they soon entered upon various activities which were to have far-reaching results. The third was Joseph Rayner Stephens, who later became well-known in Britain for his efforts on behalf of the formation of the trade unions. He was sent to Sweden in 1827 under the aegis of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in response to a

request from an English industrialist to that society for a clergyman to minister to the needs of his many English workers in Stockholm. The fourth was a young Methodist minister by the name of George Scott who was sent to replace Mr. Stephens in 1830. As British Christians of the evangelical persuasion, all four men well understood the conditions and problems they encountered in Sweden - conditions and problems that in many respects were amazingly similar to those that had existed for many years in Great Britain. Their thinking could undoubtedly be stated in the words of Dr. Nils F. S. Ferré who wrote, more than a hundred years later: "Missions are for pagans. Pagans are everywhere. Modern missions, of course are for people in non-Christian lands. Kierkegaard is, indeed, painfully right: our problem is for the Christians so-called to become so in fact."*

There are a few scattered accounts of the work of these men to be found in biographies and various histories. A biography of Ebenezer Henderson, written by his niece Thulia Henderson, and published in 1859 is, at best, sketchy. A second biography of Mr. Henderson, a doctoral thesis on his life and work written by J. H. Glassman in 1959 at New College, Edinburgh is more thorough. Mr. Paterson's memoirs were edited and published in 1858 by William L. Alexander in London. A biography of Joseph Rayner Stephens was written and published in 1881 by George Holycake, but devotes only a few pages to Mr. Stephens' work in Sweden. And in 1929, Gunnar Westin in Sweden published a comprehensive two-volume biography of George Scott. Besides these biographies and memoirs, the only other published material is to be found in the

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* Ferré, Nils F. S. "Fear, Duty and Love as Ultimate Motives for Christian Missions", International Review of Missions, 1948, p.393.

histories of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Bible Society in Sweden, and the Tract Societies of both countries.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to bring together in a concise form the work of these four men - which seems to have played a far more significant role in the advance of the Kingdom of Christ in Sweden than most would credit, and to re-examine their contributions. In the opinions of a large number of both clergy and laity of the time, they were little better than interlopers and mischief makers. But a careful examination of the motives, work and accomplishments of these men may lead to the conclusion that their contributions can in no way be considered anything other than remarkable - in some instances even monumental. In the process, questions must be raised about their influence on the advance of evangelical Christianity and the final victory for total freedom of religion in Sweden. Did their tracts play such an enormous part in the first half of the century so as to bring men and women of all social levels to a conscious recognition of their sinful state? Did the need they felt for salvation followed by their desire to meet in the forbidden-by-law conventicles to read together both the Bible and the new literature add to the pressures for freedom of religion and assist in bringing it about? What, in fact, was the role and contribution of the publication and dissemination of these tracts? What, if any, was the influence of John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson themselves? It would be necessary to explore whether without their inspiration, direction and unending hard labor a considerably longer time would have elapsed before the formation of a Bible Society in Sweden. What would have happened to that society, two decades later when it was suffering from internal problems had not George Scott taken hold and breathed new life and activity into it? How many more years

would have gone by before Sweden would have had either a missionary or a temperance society had he not led the way to their formation? And would many of the crucial events in the Swedish religious life of the fifth and sixth decades have occurred without the catalytic presence of Mr. Scott? These are only a few of the questions that will arise in the course of this assessment. It will therefore be necessary to take a fresh look at the results of the work of these men and to review the significance of these results to evangelical Christendom in Sweden.

It has been considered to be of real value to summarize briefly, at the outset, the contemporary ecclesiastical scene in both Sweden and Great Britain, as well as to fill in some of the more meaningful events in the life of the church of the preceding century in Sweden and in the rise of modern missions in Britain. Little is known of the history of the Swedish Church outside that country, and few in Sweden are familiar with the history of missions in Britain. It is hoped, therefore, that this will be helpful in setting the scene for the advent of these men as missionaries in Sweden.

CHAPTER I

EVANGELICALISM

AND THE RISE OF MODERN MISSIONS IN BRITAIN

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The Social and Spiritual Environment in the Eighteenth Century

According to many accounts, Christianity in the British Isles during the first half of the eighteenth century had reached an alarmingly low level. The Church of England existed - outwardly grand - with hundreds of parish churches throughout the land presided over by a vast hierarchy of bishops and parish priests. There were numerous nonconformist churches led by their independent clergy, and a remnant of the Roman Catholic Church still existed. Scotland was served by its national church. All were pledged to teach the Christian faith and its way of life. But if attendance records and statistics of the day are to be believed, only a very small percentage of the population ever went to church, and so few either heard or benefitted from the church's teaching. As the century moved on, some Anglican parishes declined in the number of communicants by as much as twenty-five percent. The number of nonconforming chapels declined in some instances over fifty percent.[1] Attendance at Roman Catholic mass fared the same percentage drop. And in Scotland the situation was little better. "In visible status, the church had suffered seriously; no further reverses seemed likely to depress its position."[2]

People simply were not very interested in the Church or what it had to say. So they stayed at home. Some did go to church, but their numbers were small. Ernest Payne says: "A dry rationalism infected men's minds and hearts. Enthusiasm was at a discount, the very word being a badge of reproach."[3] And J. A. Froude gives this analysis: "Religion, as taught in the Church of England, meant moral obedience to the will of

God. The speculative part of it was accepted because it was assumed to be true. The creeds were reverentially repeated; but the essential thing was practice. People went to church to learn to be good, to hear the commandments repeated to them for the thousandth time, and to see them written in gilt letters over the communion table. About the powers of the keys, the real presence, or the metaphysics of doctrine, no one was anxious, for no one thought about them. It was not worthwhile to waste time over questions which had no bearing on conduct, and which could be satisfactorily disposed of only by sensible indifference."[4]

It is little wonder, then, that society in general reached the depths so often described. The rich were very rich and the poor were unbelievably poor. In between were the artisans and the trades people. The former were a little better off than the very poor, and the latter were shown in caricatures of the period to be well fed and sleek. But all seemed to have in common a spiritual lethargy, either resulting in or aided and abetted by drunkenness, immorality, cruelty and crime. These were not characteristics of any one level of society, but seemed to permeate through the entire. Anyone who wished could make and sell gin - but a license was necessary to sell beer! The poor drank to forget their suffering. The rich drank to alleviate their boredom. The trades-people drank to emulate the rich. The literature of the day often reveals disgusting coarseness. The baptism records, especially in country parishes tell an appalling story of immorality. A close companion of drunkenness and immorality was cruelty. Many stories contain accounts of cock-fighting as well as bull and bear baiting. It was fashionable to take in a hanging at Tyburn. It is recorded in a number of accounts that when Charles Wesley preached to fifty-two

criminals in a jail waiting to be hung, one of those hardened criminals was a ten-year-old. As for crime, smuggling was popular with both rich and poor. Dick Turpin, the highwayman, was a hero : and bands of rich young men known as "Mohocks" were vandals and terrorists of the streets of London. And all that barely begins to tell the story.

Conditions in the West country were equally appalling. Some years later Hannah More wrote: "Farmers were as ignorant as the beasts that perish, intoxicated every day before dinner, and plunged in such vices as make me think London a virtuous place."[5] In Cheddar, she found only one Bible in all the parish, and no clergyman had resided in it for forty years. She also wrote: "In the large district of Mendips the only resident clergyman was the vicar of Axbridge and even he was intoxicated about six times a week, and very frequently prevented from preaching by two black eyes honestly earned by fighting."[6]

What then, had been happening to the church? While at no time could it be considered all bad , the ills affecting it at this time seemed to be overpowering. The well-known quote of the day, "There is no religion in England ... If one speaks of it, everyone laughs",[7] was very possibly true.

The Church of England was suffering from a number of problems. It had internal problems that were doctrinal, ecclesiastical and political in nature. Battles between faith and reason raged with little attempt made for reconciliation. A cold philosophy of common sense prevailed and, "The nerveless creed ... 'It is ten to one it is true' filled the place of living faith in the land."[8] The clergy were engulfed by a veneration of reason and morality coming from France and Germany. A

religion of the heart - a love for God and Christ, His Son, was not often considered. In fact, "Many of the orthodox clergymen were spectacularly lacking in spiritual dedication."[9] Outwardly, status had been lost as a result of the Acts of Toleration of 1689 - men who had no desire to go to church no longer felt compelled to do so. Impropriation was an economic blow that struck at ecclesiastical balance in both clergy and church property. Abuses such as pluralism and absenteeism existed within the system which affected the stability of the entire institution till, "The church had reached the low-water mark."[10] Balleine calls it, "The glacial epoch in our church history."[11]

Nor were the churches of the nonconformists any better off. Socinianism was growing and all three groups of Baptists as well as Presbyterians were drifting in this direction. Liberalism in theology was increasing in all of them. Some turned in the opposite direction to a sort of hyper-Calvinism which, with its hard and cold theology drove people away. "A strange lethargy was slowly disintegrating theological conviction and ethical standards."[12] The Roman Catholics, many of whom were unable to withstand the legal penalties of the earlier laws which penalized them both socially and economically, gradually left that church. By the middle of the century, "The Roman Catholic population in England was only about half what it had been a half a century earlier, and for the remnant, the future would become more depressing with the defeat of the final Jacobite uprising of 1745."[13]

To the north in Scotland Moderatism had begun. It stood basically for a broad and sound learning, and any evidence of enthusiasm was considered vulgar. As a result, religion came across as dry and dull, giving neither life nor hope to its hearers. The old practice of patronage

was reinstated, providing those who opposed it with a "last straw" for dissent. In protest, a new church was formed in 1733 by Ebenezer Erskine and four other ministers, which was to be free from any Erastianism. But in spite of the attempts of these men and others, the Moderates had triumphed by the middle of the century. With their pursuit of the good life and culture, they assured the Scots of a learned, moral and secular clergy. Thomas Chalmers remarked: "The sermons of the Moderates are like a fine winter's day - short, clear and cold. The brevity is good, the clearness better, but the coldness is fatal."[14]

The Rise of Evangelicalism

The Character of Evangelicalism; Roots in Pietism and the Moravians; Early Missionary Precedents - Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

It was into this atmosphere of cold spiritual lethargy and social dissipation that Evangelicalism was born. The term was not a new one, but it was a good and fitting one. It spoke of the Evangel - the Good News from God to man - that God loves man and wants to save him from sin to a glorious salvation through His Son, Jesus the Christ, and thereby enable him to live a life of joyful and loving obedience to His will. The term had been used in connection with Wyclif and his followers. Even earlier, it had been used to designate both Lutheran and Reformed at the time of the Reformation. "As early as 1531, Sir Thomas More (referring to adherents of the Reformation) declared that 'Those Evaungelicalles theimself cease not to pursue and punishe their brethren'."[15] In a lengthy footnote, Balleine proffers this explanation: "... Who first applied it to those clergy who taught the doctrines of the Revival was later a matter of dispute; cf. Pearson's

Life of Hey; 'To men thus orthodox do a certain number of their clerical brethren apply the epithet of Evangelical ministers as a term of reproach'; and Antijacobin Review, 1799: 'Those who arrogate to themselves the title of Evangelical preachers.' Apparently the word was first applied to their doctrines; Evangelical teaching was something obviously different from the fashionable teaching or morality. Then it became applied to those who preached the Gospel; cf. Letters from Haweis to Walker, 1759 (quoted in Sidney's Life of Walker, p.479); 'Talbot took his living with a view to do good, before he could be at all said to be evangelical.' Toplady's Letter to Wesley, 1770: 'You complain that the Evangelical clergy are leaving no stone unturned to raise John Calvin's ghost.'"[16] However, there seemed to be several reports of it cropping up independently in various areas - particularly in Wales, and was used in connection with the revivals there. These revivals seemed to begin with individuals, who through reading their Bibles, were brought to a conviction of their sins and the realization of a need for salvation. Man's sin and his need for repentance before a righteous and holy God was primary in their thinking. When a man had truly repented of his sin, which more often than not was an emotional experience that plumbed the depths of the individual, he then asked for and received God's forgiveness. This having been done, the individual experienced a new sense of freedom unlike anything he had ever before known. For him, the Scripture - "The truth shall make you free" - had come true. It was a remarkable and exhilarating release from a sense of sin and guilt and in this way he was "born again". He was now a, "Free soul moving in a medium of free grace."[17] He then, in faith, began his progress toward a more holy and disciplined life which was evidenced by a warm, joyous and compassionate devotion with a loving concern for his fellow man. This was

true conversion and opened the way to living a Godly life. This was the heart of Evangelicalism.

This awakening soon grew and spread from isolated individuals to groups and became revivals in many communities. Following close upon the heels of the drive to live holy and spiritual lives came the urge to share this Gospel and salvation - not only with one's friends and neighbors, but with all nations. In all, it was a strong reflection of Spener's Pietism in Germany, as well as of the morality of the Puritans.

Pietism in Germany under Philip Jacob Spener (1634-1705) who is often called the Father of Pietism, might be said to be the real beginning of the Evangelical Movement. It was, basically, a return to Luther's emphasis of salvation by faith. Spener felt that the importance given by the Lutheran Church to pure doctrine, right administration of the Sacraments, and a well-organized establishment as a church, dulled the minds of the people to a mere outward participation in the divine service without touching their hearts or motivating them to live uprightly. Therefore reform was necessary, and it could be brought about by a living faith-piety, which in turn would bring about upright conduct. He worked for reform in the clergy, arguing that the personal piety of the clergy was necessary if their preaching was to be effective. He began training for the young with the Bible as a school text book. He preached the necessity of a "Conscious, personal, vital, active and practical life for all and recommended household devotions, extempore prayer, Bible reading and a stricter observance of Sunday."[18] A younger colleague, August Hermann Franke developed social action in the movement, helping to found the University of Halle and founding in that city an orphanage and several schools. Spener's most original contribution was

the organization of small private groups for devotional practices and the cultivation of the Christian life which he called the "Collegia Pietatis".

The influence of Pietism was carried forward by a small group of Moravians who had, under persecution fled their country. They settled at Berthelsdorf near Leipsig in eastern Germany on land owned by Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, who had met Spener as a youth and had been raised in Pietistic circles. This settlement became known as "Herrnhut" (The Lord's Watch); a community which was to have far-flung influence throughout the Evangelical movement in England, and into the entire world. It never became an actual movement in England as it did in other countries, but its influence on Wesley and the Evangelicals was strong and unmistakeable, clearly recognizable in the preaching and teaching, and particularly in the missionary movement at the end of the century.

Missions, however, had a much earlier beginning in Britain. In a very small way, British missionary work might be said to have begun when Cromwell in 1648 persuaded the English Parliament to vote a large sum of money for missionary work abroad. In 1649 the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was created and ministers were urged to collect money to sustain it. Inspiration for this move came from the work of John Eliot, a young Cambridge graduate and a Puritan who, in 1631 emigrated to Massachusetts to preach to the Indians. Cromwell's plan of missions was never realized, but preceding so closely the foundation of the first missionary societies in Britain, it may have served as an impetus and inspiration in the hearts of those who followed.

As early as 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (hereinafter to be called the SPCK) came into being through the work of Thomas Bray, curate in charge of Sheldon in Warwickshire. Having been appointed Ecclesiastical Commissary for Maryland by the Bishop of London, he assumed the duty of the oversight of the American settlements. To better fulfill this duty, he prepared to visit that colony, hoping to bring libraries with him to the few clergy of the Church of England who were in the colonies. He started a public appeal not only for books, but also for money to buy more of them. In order to facilitate this work, the SPCK was formed, "With the aim of spreading Christian knowledge at home and in the plantations and colonies of the New World by means of libraries and schools."[19]

Bray returned home from his visit to Maryland with a new zeal and inspiration for missions. This provided the impetus for the founding of a second society in 1701 - the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (hereinafter to be called the SPG). The aim of this society was: "To provide chaplains for the king's loving subjects in the Christian Religion."[20] For this, Bray worked tirelessly and, "During the years 1695 to 1701 Bray was responsible for sending 129 missionaries abroad."[21] By 1704 a grant was made for them to open a school for negro slaves in New York, and shortly after, Thoroughgood Moore was appointed missionary to the Indians. Almost a century later, in 1792, they had appointed chaplains in fourteen of the United States, six Canadian provinces, the Windward Islands and the Mosquito Coast of Central America. The SPG was a singular missionary society, and through the spiritual torpor of the eighteenth century, this society, "Kept alive the flame amid the darkness when there was no other light burning."[22]

John Wesley and the Methodist Revival

Wesley the Missionary; Wesley the Itinerant Preacher; the Societies; Wesley in Scotland; George Whitefield; The Revival Begins.

It was into the dissolute society of the early eighteenth century, but into a home touched by evangelical spirit that John Wesley was born in 1703. His mother, Susanna Wesley was a Godly woman; she had read accounts of the work of the Danish-Halle missionaries to India and also of the SPCK and the SPG. Her children probably heard her tell of them, and the stories of her Christian tuition in the home have often been told. When, therefore, two of her sons, John and Charles journeyed to the New World as chaplains under the auspices of the SPG in 1736, she was overjoyed. Both brothers had been roused by impulses of holiness and piety in their days at Oxford and were members of the group which was jokingly dubbed the Holy Club by other students.

John's stint as a chaplain in Georgia was hardly successful, and at the end of an unhappy two years he returned to London in 1738. Charles, faring no better, had returned home after only one year. Upon his return, John met Peter Böhler, a young Moravian missionary from Germany, and Böhler's simple faith in Christ made a strong impression on Wesley. This led him to attend one of the meetings of the group of Moravians in Aldersgate Street, which had been founded by Zinzendorf during his visit to London in 1737, and there Wesley experienced a conversion and an assurance of salvation that changed his life. A few weeks later, he travelled to Zinzendorf's community in Marienborn in Germany where he met the Count. It has been recorded that the two men differed on many points, such as justification and sanctification, and didn't really understand each other. Wesley then determined to go to Herrnhut, and once there found himself much more at home. He learned

much from the simple devotion of the Brethren there and at the end of three months, returned home, fired to begin his own ministry of preaching. For a while, he and his brother Charles continued their fellowship with the Brethren, but in 1740 broke with them, unable to agree with their mystical and antinomian principles.

For the next year, Wesley struggled with his own theology, and early settled into thoughts and patterns to which he would adhere for the rest of his life. When in 1738 he received a call from his friend George Whitefield in Bristol to come and help him preach to the miners there, he hesitated - he was not sure that preaching in a field was proper. But in the end he went. And that was the beginning of one of the greatest itinerant ministries the world has known. In fact, itinerancy became a passion with Wesley, and gradually he recruited many other travelling preachers. He was to travel some 150,000 miles over England and Scotland and preach over 40,000 sermons before his death fifty-three years later. And this in a day when travel was either on foot or by horse! Wesley's own conversion experience became the model for those converted through his preaching. He preached repentance and a conscious acceptance of salvation through Christ. And salvation was, for Wesley, the free reception of grace by man, offered freely by God to all men.

Upon Wesley's advice, those converted through his ministry began to meet in small groups to talk and pray together, not only for mutual edification, but for strength to withstand the taunts of their friends and relatives. Unable to find time to meet with all the small groups who urged him to meet with them, he suggested that they all come together on a Thursday evening when he would talk and pray with the entire group. Many such groups began to form and became known as

societies. One can easily see in these societies the influence of Spener's "Collegia Pietatis" and the conventicles of the Herrnhut Brethren.

Soon, through the aid of Wesley's great genius for organization, the many societies were bound together in a vast network all over England. Many in these societies wished to secede from the Church of England and form a new church, but for as long as he lived, Wesley was opposed to this. In the Arminian Magazine for April 1790 he wrote: "I live and die a member of the Church of England, and none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it."[23] Sometime after 1740, classes for Bible study and prayer were formed, and provided a training ground for leadership. Each member was asked to contribute a penny a week to help dissolve the debts incurred by renting halls for the societies. Societies and classes both were of tremendous social and educational value as well as spiritual, and bound the people together into a close-knit group.

Between 1751 and 1791 Wesley made twenty-two visitsto Scotland, travelling as far north as Inverness and Aberdeen. Here he found the spiritual state of the people sadly lacking. His comment after a visit to Dundee in 1764 was: "There is seldom fear of wanting a congregation in Scotland. But the misfortune is, they know everything; so they learn nothing!"[24] In Edinburgh on the 25th of May of that year, he visited the General Assembly, and his impressions here were, likewise, not the highest - they wasted too much time arguing over simple matters such as ministers' stipends! On the whole, he was well received by the clergy in Scotland, as were other Methodist lay preachers who travelled there - their hospitality being kinder than his criticisms. But while he felt "His mission was less successful in Scotland than it had been

in England ... he recognized that in Scotland congregations were not as alienated from the Gospel as were the urban populations of England, and that this was due to the effectiveness of the Scottish ministry."[25]

All the same, societies were begun in Scotland and a record of one of the earliest ones is to be found in a diary for the years 1760, 1761 and 1762 of William Smith, an advocate of Aberdeen and a member of the Methodist Society which had been formed there. His very first entry relates to his attending a meeting of the Society. "On 15 April, 1761 comes the following note: 'Mr. Christopher Hooper and Thomas Olivers came to town from New Castle being two of Mr. Wesley's travelling preacners, and Mr. Hooper preached on Thursday evening at six o'clock at the Castlehill ... They were piercing and at the same time the plainest and simplest that ever were heard - and blessed by God, they have not been without fruit, for many of the people not only heard gladly, but have been stirred up to seek salvation and are resolved to meet and commune frequently with some that fear God for that purpose' ... Thus the tiny society, which had been struggling for over a year received a new infusion of life. From now on, Aberdeen Methodism was in unbroken contact with the work of John Wesley and all the rest of his connexion."[26]

During this same span of years, George Whitefield, a friend of the Wesleys since Oxford days, and also a member of the Holy Club was also moving along the evangelical path. He too went to Georgia as a chaplain for the SPG, and when, two years later he returned to London (where he too came into contact with the Brethren in Aldersgate) he was ordained a priest and set out to gather funds for an orphanage in Georgia. It was on this mission he came to Bristol. As he walked out

one day to the area where the collieries were, he saw men whose reputation was that of drunkenness and savagery. He stepped up on a little mound of earth and preached the Gospel to them -- just as he had done in Georgia. Quickly, his audience grew from about two hundred on the first day to twenty thousand people, all waiting, "To hear of a Jesus who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."[27] This was the beginning of Whitefield's great outdoor ministry. And he loved it. He himself said: "There is no pulpit like a mound; no sounding-board like heaven."[28]

George Whitefield was a different figure from Wesley altogether. Whereas Wesley emerges out of history books as a rather austere and solitary figure (somewhat like an Old Testament prophet) Whitefield comes into vision as a warmer personality, enjoying fellowship with everyone. He lacked Wesley's organizational genius, but as a persuasive preacher he must have been a giant. Benjamin Franklin, never known to be a spendthrift told this tale. "I happened to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded, I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me asham'd of that; and determin'd me to give the silver; and he finish'd so admirably that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all."[29]

As Whitefield was preaching at Bristol, demands for his preaching elsewhere began to increase and became so great that he wrote to Wesley, soliciting his help. Wesley responded. From the outset, he too preached to great crowds. As he began to travel, preaching to

great crowds wherever he went, his brother Charles and Whitefield began to preach to equally large crowds of Londoners on Moorfields and Kennington Common. Suddenly, and without any accountable reason the great Revival had begun. It was not planned, nor was it anticipated. It came, "Like a breath of the Spirit of God into a hopeless and fainting world. On human grounds it cannot be accounted for save that in all ages the instinct for God implanted in mankind continually urges it to seek God afresh."[30] As a result, thousands of men and women were caught up into a religious enthusiasm and piety, and lives were suddenly and miraculously changed. People flocked to church and Sunday again became a Sabbath Day. Sobriety replaced drunkenness; a strict morality was observed quite generally. The Revival brought with it almost unbelievable miracles.

The Evangelicals and Revival

> In London with William Romaine and the Eclectic Society; throughout England with John Newton, Thomas Scott, Joseph Milner, Henry Venn, William Fletcher and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon; The Second-Generation Evangelicals - the Clapham Sect; Evangelicals in Oxford and Cambridge.

While Wesley and Whitefield were preaching and gathering their converts into societies, later to become known as the Methodists, two other groups of new believers who were coming into evidence consisted of the Englican Evangelicals and the Old Dissenters. The former were simply called Evangelicals, remained in their parishes, while the latter were mainly the Congregationalists and the Baptists.

In the beginning, the Evangelicals were of both clergy and laity. Their numbers were few and not strong, and they were largely the product of the Methodist revivals. In London, William Romaine, who came

from a family of French Huguenot refugees and whose life had at some point been touched by the revival solely represented Evangelicals in that city from 1749 for several years. During those years, his Sunday afternoon lectures at St. Dunstans-in-the-West were the only evangelical services in London, and they were very well attended. He finally received support by the arrival in 1753 of Thomas Jones and in 1754 of Henry Venn, both evangelical preachers. There are many names that should appear on the roll of the early Evangelicals -- John Thornton, Richard Cecil, Thomas Haweis and George Pattrick to name just a few. These London Evangelicals founded a club in 1783, the Eclectic Society, which provided the means for them to keep in touch with each other. They held bi-weekly meetings at which they discussed common problems and debated both theological and practical questions.

Outside of London, there were others who carried the evangelical banner in the Church of England. Sir James Stephen has designated, "As her Four Evangelists, John Newton, Thomas Scott, Joseph Milner and Henry Venn (Now moved to the north)."[31] Newton, formerly a cruel master of a slave ship experienced a change of heart and was later ordained to the curacy of Olney in Buckinghamshire. Although not particularly successful with his parishioners, he was venerated among his fellow ministers and to be under his pastoral care was considered a prize greatly to be sought. Scott, a former grazier, was ordained to a curacy neighboring Newton's. He later succeeded Newton at Olney and then moved to London. There he wrote a commentary on the Bible which made him famous. Joseph Milner took orders and simultaneously became Headmaster of Hull Grammar School, and lecturer at the parish church there. His work on church history had the important effect of familiarizing his contemporaries with writers of the early church.

Henry Venn, the last of the four, after a short curacy in Clapham, preached in Huddersfield and the surrounding area. His preaching drew great crowds there and later in Yelling. He wrote the treatise The Complete Duty of Man which greatly influenced the lives of many other churchmen. In it, his evangelical fervor is understood in this statement: "Christ the law-giver will always speak in vain, without Christ the Saviour is first known. All treatises to promote holiness must be deplorably defective, unless the Cross of Christ be laid as the foundation, constantly kept in view, and every duty enforced as having relation to the Redeemer."[32] How beautifully Venn had stated the basis of evangelical teaching.

Another man whose name should be included in this list was John William Fletcher of Madeley. Of him John Wesley wrote: "I have known many exemplary men, holy in heart and life, but one equal to him I have not known, one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God."[33] All these men, while renewed in spirit by the Methodist revivals remained loyal churchmen. Therefore, one could say that it is they and others like them who remained in the Church of England who are the true followers of John Wesley and should be considered his real spiritual descendents.

One other person among this first generation of Evangelicals who should be included is Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. She had early been convinced by the evangelical preaching, and in 1757 invited George Whitefield and Henry Venn to make a preaching tour into the western counties. In London she opened her house to the evangelical clergy and made William Romaine her chaplain. Her aim was, "To evangelize her own class in society."[34] As the number of chapels under her patronage grew, they became organized under the direction of Whitefield into what became known as the Connexion. Because there were not enough trained

clergy to man her chapels, she established a theological college at Trevecca for this purpose. Eventually, she and her lay preachers separated from the established church - at which time the ordained clergy of the Church severed their connections with her. But her influence had been invaluable.

Towards the end of the century another group came into existence that was also to have far-reaching influence. This was the Clapham Sect. It was really no sect at all, but rather a brotherhood - a close association of friends who were also neighbors in the village of Clapham, which was at that time what we would call a suburb of London. These men were all affluent, all in positions of power in England in one area or another, and all evangelical Christians - products of the revivals. William Wilberforce, MP from Yorkshire was the unacclaimed head of the group. He had been converted through reading Dr. Philip Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. The reading of this book led Wilberforce to a study of the New Testament and resulted in a conversion, "As significant as that of John Newton or John Wesley."[35]

A list that sounds like an honor roll of the day's leaders, not only in government but also in the various missionary and Bible societies at the turn of the century forms the membership roll of this group. After Wilberforce appear such names as: Thomas Clarkson, one of the earliest and most untiring workers for the abolition of slavery; Granville Sharp, a scholar and philanthropist, for many years devoted to the struggle against slavery; Zachary Macaulay, editor of the Christian Observer (which was the organ of the Clapham Sect and was devoted to the abolition of the slave trade) and often called a "devoted friend of Africa"; John Shore, Lord Teignmouth, former

Governor-General of India, and president, for many years of the British and Foreign Bible Society; James Stephen, Master in Chancery, MP for Tralee and a lawyer of West Indian experience, having first hand knowledge of the cruelty of slavery; Henry Thornton, MP for Southwark and a strong supporter of anti-slave trade legislation in Parliament; and John Venn, son of Henry Venn and rector at Clapham parish church where they all regularly worshipped. One woman, Hannah More, a good friend to all of them, a writer of many tracts and a tireless worker in establishing Sunday Schools in Cheddar and its neighborhood, must also be included on the list. The closest collaborators in the interests of the sect, or "Saints" as they were called, were two clergymen - Charles (Saint Charles) Simeon and Isaac Milner, both of Cambridge.

Each member of this group was committed to doing good, and they "Planned and labored together like a committee that never was dissolved."[36] Led by Wilberforce, they all worked on anti-slavery campaigns, till in 1807 slave trade was abolished by Parliament. In the meantime, every member of the group was working on one or more boards of the newly-formed missionary and literature societies. They supported and contributed to the recently founded periodicals - the Christian Observer, the Missionary Register and the Evangelical Magazine. They supported Sunday Schools and Parish Schools. Education for the laboring classes and the poor was of prime concern to them. And at the same time, they embarked on a literary crusade for the benefit of the rich, which met with great success. Hannah More set the standard, saying, "To expect to reform the poor while the opulent are corrupt is to throw odours into the stream, while the springs are poisoned."[37] They helped erect orphanages and they supported penal reform. They fought for the

abolition of the press gang, the relief of chimney boys and against other social ills. And each man was as liberal with his purse as he was with his time and energy. The results were astounding.

At Oxford, the Evangelicals were having a hard time of it. Six youths there had several years earlier been expelled for literally having too much religion. Another received the same fate - "From having been tainted with Methodistical principle."[38] Later, towards the end of the century, Oxford was opened to Evangelicals. But it was then too late - the truly interested and the keenest minds of the Evangelicals had gone to Cambridge.

Here, the Evangelicals fared better, thanks to the presence of Isaac Milner, president of Queens College from 1788 and of William Farrish, vicar of St. Giles and Professor of Chemistry at Magdalene. These men welcomed the Evangelicals and actually drew many of them to study there. Probably the best known was Charles Simeon, whose influence was to extend far beyond the border of Cambridge. In 1783 he became minister of Holy Trinity Church, and in spite of much trouble and many disturbances, his Bible, Doctrine and Sermon classes, and his Friday Conversation Circle for the discussion of religious questions were always full. Fifty years of teaching young men had results beyond estimation. "A teacher so wise, so genial, so spiritual, moulding the lives of the men from whom the bulk of the clergy were drawn, acquired a position almost unique in the English Church."[39] While his thinking, and therefore his teaching were evangelical, he too remained for all of his life a Churchman, and he tried to influence his students to keep a firm allegiance to the church. Lord Macaulay wrote: "If you knew what his authority and influence were, and how they extended from Cambridge to the most remote corners of England, you would allow that his real sway in the church was far greater than that of any Primate."[40]

And with Macaulay's later involvement with the Church Missionary Society, that influence could be said to have extended to the far corners of the globe.

The Dissenters and Revival

> Congregationalists in England and in Scotland; the Baptists.

The Methodists and the Evangelical Party of the Church of England were not the only ones involved in the revivals. The old Dissenters - the Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers and Presbyterians were also caught up in the general enthusiasm, although the latter two in an almost negligible degree. As Dissenters, they had all just passed through a century of persecution and difficulty resulting from the Clarendon Code of penalties which had placed severe restrictions on their lives and even ruined some families by the exorbitant fines. They had worked hard to repeal many of the cruel laws, but failed. All were strongly rooted in English Puritanism, and believed that man's sole duty was to God. It was, on the whole, a strict and often joyless Christianity. But then, perhaps they had little to be joyful about.

Presbyterian and Quaker congregations were gradually decreasing. The Presbyterians were, according to Gilbert, "Facing virtual extinction ... while the Society of Friends was playing no part in the massive expansion of dissent taking place within Congregational and Baptist communities."[41]

The Congregationalists were Calvinists, believing in predestination. They rejected the idea of a state church and believed in separate congregations receiving their authority directly from God. Their numbers had increased slowly since the early seventeenth century, strongly

influenced by the Puritans of Rotterdam and New England where Congregationalism was growing rapidly. By the middle of that century they had a goodly number of meeting houses. With much difficulty they survived the vicissitudes of the following one hundred and fifty years, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, they were firmly established. In a lecture delivered at Mansfield College in 1911, Newton Marshall defined that body thus: "The Congregational movement summed itself up in all the movements that had gone before. Its doctrine was reformed, in ritual it was Puritan, it fixed once and for all in a visible institution the Separatist ideal, and it denied the episcopacy with the Presbyterians."[42]

When the revival fires began to burn all around them, they were divided in their reception of it. The people were listening to Wesley and Whitefield and other Methodist preachers, and conversions were taking place. The clergy, however, were slow to follow. Philip Doddridge on the other hand, a leading figure in Congregationalism and founder of an academy at Northampton which attracted students from all the dissenting groups, was literally a frontiersman of the revival. As early as 1742 he had published works on evangelism, and his hymns published at that time have a warm evangelical tone. Two of his most outstanding students to come out of the academy were Risdon Darracott and Benjamin Fawcett, both of whom were evangelical in spirit, and kept cordial relationships with Whitefield and the Methodists. In fact, connections between George Whitefield and the Congregationalists were both numerous and close. He was of great assistance to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in founding the school at Trevecca which provided the Congregationalists with many of their ministers. Less than a century later, the whole Connexion was officially linked up with the Congregational denomination.

In Scotland, Congregationalism found a ready welcome. The established Church there was in little better shape than the churches in England before the revivals. Of it, Escott says: "Church attendance had greatly fallen off and the interest of the people no longer shared in the theological interests of their fathers. The Industrial Revolution changed their thinking and they were more materialistic minded, both peasants and the working class. Among the educated class, a spirit of skepticism was prevalent. Rationalism affected everything. A new deistic doctrine of man and his natural goodness was set in place of the ancient theological doctrine of man and his depravity. A degraded state of the clergy was well-known."[43] So, it would seem, Scotland too needed revival.

Into this scene came another pair of brothers - Robert and James Haldane - born in 1764 and 1768 respectively, and who would, more than Wesley and his preachers, bring revival to Scotland. They too were raised by a devout Christian mother. After short careers in the navy and the East India Company respectively, they retired in their early twenties. At that time, they began to read the Bible and other Christian books, and to befriend the neighboring clergy. Prayer became a daily discipline. "Before long, both had experienced being born again."[44]

Robert Haldane, having been unsuccessful in an attempt to go to India as a missionary, decided to give himself to mission work at home and proceeded to open preaching houses and seminaries for training preachers. "What India lost at that time ... Scotland gained in the home mission work of Robert and James Haldane."[45]

James Haldane began his work by forming Sunday Schools in Glasgow and the surrounding villages. But before long, he tried his hand at preaching, and in this found his true work. In 1797 he and two friends set out on a preaching tour of northern Scotland. When they returned, they reported that they had found the state of religion there to be deplorable. They gave as an example the town of Thurso, having found that that town had not been catachised for forty years. Moreover, "In all the shire of Caithness, consisting of ten parishes, there was scarcely an instance of the Gospel being faithfully preached."[46] James Haldane's experiences here resembled those of Wesley and Whitefield. His first sermon was preached to not more than three hundred persons. The next day, the congregation had increased to eight hundred in the morning and to fifteen hundred in the evening. As a result of this report, it was decided that some program of home missions be established. A society consisting of Christians of different denominations was formed in Edinburgh to which they gave the name, The Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, and the first general meeting was held on 11 January, 1798. Their first address declared: "Our sole intention is to make known the evangelical Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In employing itinerants, schoolmasters, or others, we do not consider ourselves as conferring ordination upon them, or appointing them to the pastoral office. We only propose by sending them out, to supply the means of grace wherever we perceive a deficiency."[47] Their main work was to encourage Sunday Schools, to promote reading of the Scriptures, to circulate tracts, to establish libraries of devotional books, and to defray the expenses of ministers willing to preach in towns or villages in their neighborhood. Many small revivals were begun by these men. One of the Society's most important contributions was the sending of Gaelic catechists and preachers to the Highlands,

with the result that, "From Solway to the Orkneys, Scotland experienced a great spiritual awakening."[48] The two Haldane brothers continued to further the cause of Congregationalism in Scotland till 1808, in which year they became Baptists. Neither brother felt any need for disunion with the Congregationalists, but this feeling was not mutual with many in the Church, so they disassociated themselves from it.

The Baptists had not as yet gained much foothold in Scotland, but their numbers were growing in England. At first, they, like the Congregationalists mistrusted the Methodist movement - infant baptism was their stumbling block. Moreover, "John Wesley insisted on calling them 'Anabaptists' and that didn't go down very well."[49] Nor should it have, for the English Baptists do not trace their origins back to the Anabaptist refugees that came to England in the sixteenth century. While they opposed infant baptism, they held too many fanatical views on other issues for the English Baptists to consider them as true spiritual forebears. They grew rather, as a group of Separatists out of the Puritan movement who believed that, "All baptized people were not automatically part of the Church, but rather that the Church was composed of baptized persons who voluntarily united in the Church, desiring to separate themselves from the world."[50]

Two groups of Baptists had come into being quite independent of each other. The first of these, the General Baptists were a distinct part of the Separatist movement. The second group, the Particular Baptists sprang from a movement within the Church of England that became the Independents and who eventually rejected infant baptism. These two groups still existed independently when the revivals began. They too, like other nonconformists were divided on the question of

predestination - the General Baptists being Arminians and the Particular Baptists holding to strict Calvinism. And with them also, like the others, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the true dynamic of the Christian spirit had gone out of the preaching and out of the church. So when the great revivals came along through the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield, after the first period of distrust, they began to remember and put into action their own doctrine of conversion, so central to their Christianity, though for a while seemingly forgotten.

Then one day, a servant in the household of the Countess of Huntingdon named David Taylor, evidently touched by the revivals, began to preach in neighboring villages. As a result, several small socieities of Christians were formed, and they decided to form themselves into a church at Barton, on Methodist lines, in 1745. They built themselves a chapel and registered it as independent.

Soon there were four other chapels in nearby communities and a movement had been started. As they studied the Bible, they became convinced that the Scriptural mode for baptism was immersion and that there was no Scriptural authority for the baptism of infants at all. By 1760 their numbers had increased so that they divided into five independent societies. Strangely, "They existed in isolation, apparently ignorant of other Baptists with similar views."[51]

Then in 1762 a Methodist named Dan Taylor was influenced by the Particular Baptists in his neighborhood near Hebden Bridge. But holding Methodist Arminian views, he could get no Particular Baptist minister to baptize him. He and a friend walked to Nottinghamshire and there found a minister of a General Baptist church to do the job. But when

he went to the General Assembly of the General Baptists in London, he was sadly disillusioned by their laxity. The result was that through his work and direction a new Connexion of General Baptists was founded. Their stated design was, "To revive experimental religion or primitive Christianity in faith and practice."[52] The group flourished and others soon joined with them. The preaching had a strong evangelical tone. They sang with zest and a new hymn book was provided. Sunday Schools were begun, and missions were of great interest to them. This new connexion had the live, new air of the Revival, and many new churches were founded, "Especially in the towns influenced by the Industrial Revolution."[53]

In the Particular Baptist group, a new generation of men arose who were filled with evangelical fervor. Robert Hall of Northampton wrote a book, Help to Zion's Travellers, in 1781. This book became widely read and in a way was the beginning of evangelical revival in the Particular Baptist group. They fought against extreme Calvinism, Hall maintaining that, "The way to Jesus is graciously laid open for everyone who chooses to come to Him."[54] Another of the new men, Andrew Fuller, held that, "It was useless to invite the unconverted to put their trust in Christ if it was impossible for any but the elect to embrace the Gospel."[55] And so the Baptists too now had become a part of the Revival.

Of the whole revival, Tudor Jones has given a most fitting summary: "It was the genius of the Revival that it made personal salvation a dramatic event. It forced thousands of people in an age when rationalism, classicism and indifferentism were in the ascendant to see that their own personal destiny was the one great issue. The rhetoric of the preachers was dedicated to bringing men to a point of decision.

To do this, absolute choices were presented in highly emotive language. Men had to choose between light and darkness, between life and death. The similes, metaphors and illustrations of the preachers were dramatic in substance and existential in intention. They were aimed at producing a decision rather than to illuminate a point. Men rushing towards precipices, ships in high tempests, soldiers arising to fight, armies locked in deadly combat, boats floundering in awful floods ... these were the images which heightened the drama of personal redemption."[56]

Joseph Altholz succinctly summed up the results: "Evangelical Protestants are characterized by moral earnestness, a rigorous standard of conduct and frequent examination of conscience; they emphasize Bible reading, private family and group prayers and an active role for the laity. They have become known for their organized efforts to influence and reform society, but the original emphasis of the movement was on individuals and small groups."[57]

THE RISE OF MODERN MISSIONS

Early Beginnings

The Early Reformers; Colonial Enterprise - Propagation of Religion in Virginia, the Pilgrims, East India Company; The SPCK and Danish Missions; Missionary Interest in Scotland; Moravian Missions; Contributing Factors and Motivations.

Providing the statements of Tudor Jones and Joseph Altholz are correct, then it is not to be wondered at that the coming era of missionary activity was about to be launched. While it was important to these newly reborn, inspired and enthusiastic evangelical Christians to

build their churches in which to worship and to teach their children the Christian faith, it was equally important to them not to let the Church become an end in itself. They soon learned that to exist as a Church meant to witness. The Gospel neither could nor would be contained within the institution. To do so would be to stifle it and kill the very spirit which brought it into being. They realized that the church was, "placed in the world in order to give witness to Christ's redeeming work."[58] They felt, along with the Apostle Paul, that "The love of Christ controls us." (II Corinthians 5:9) Thus controlled, they felt compelled to obey Christ's command, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations", (Matthew 28:19) and Peter's admonition to, "Declare the wonderful deeds of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvelous light." (I Peter 2:9)

The Reformation itself, neither on the Continent nor in Britain gave birth to any real missionary interest. But the reformers should not really be condemned for this seeming failure. In their defence, one must remember the times and the situation in which they found themselves. Their entire time was literally consumed by their struggles with the Roman Church. They had to found and then build their new reformed churches, establishing both their theology and their ecclesiastical life before their vision could move on to the needs and possibilities of missions. And few of them had ever had any contact with the heathen world.

However, it should be recognized that the reformers were not totally unaware of the need for missions. They knew very well that the Gospel had not yet reached the entire world. Luther, in his concern for the church's battle against Islam felt that, "The Church has to fight against Islam with spiritual weapons ... the only way was the personal testimony

of Christians who have fallen into the hands of the Turks."[59] Bucer is known to have had a concern for the conversion of the Jews. Calvin had a more intimate contact with the need for missions through correspondence with a group of Brazilian emigrants. In his commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Calvin "Insists that the Christian community has to pray for the conversion of the heathen and to draw all nations of the earth to God."[60]

The one great visionary of the Reformation would seem to be Erasmus. While not a reformer in the sense of Luther and Calvin, his interest in the Church was evident and that he saw a need for missions can be seen in a few statements from his treatise, On the Art of Preaching. He wrote: "Travellers bring home from distant lands gold and gems; but it is worthier to carry hence the wisdom of Christ, more precious than gold, and the pearl of the Gospel, which would put to shame all earthly riches. Christ orders to pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers, because the harvest is plenteous and the laborers are few. Must we not then pray God to thrust forth laborers into such vast tracts? ... It is a hard work I call you to, but it is the highest of all. Would that God had accounted me worthy to die in so holy a work!"[61]

It could be said that in Britain, the Missionary Movement literally grew alongside the colonial enterprise - "The very first missionary contribution in England was Sir Walter Raleigh's gift of one hundred pounds to the company which founded the Elizabethean colony of Virginia, for the propagation of religion in that settlement."[62] The Pilgrim Fathers who sailed in the Mayflower in 1620 founded their colony in New England and hoped to evangelize the red men they found living there. John Eliot joined this group in 1631 and preached to

the Iriquois Indians for fifty-eight years and translated the Bible into the language of the Mohicans.

The East India Company founded in 1600, "Proved, in a way, unwillingly to be the most noteworthy servant of Jehovah since the empire of Cyrus the Great."[63] On each ship that sailed to India was a chaplain, and each of their five factories was provided with one. These chaplains were, of course, meant to serve the British community, and evangelization of the heathen was incidental. At first, the company gladly cooperated with any missionary endeavors that applied to them for help. But somehow, during the following years, the missionary good will of the company was lost, and by the end of the eighteenth century, missionaries for India were refused passage on their ships.

The attempt of Cromwell in 1649 to raise money to send missionaries to America and the West Indies received little support throughout the country. The money that was received was enough to purchase lands yielding nearly six hundred pounds a year. In this respect, "The nation as such became the first missionary society, and the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was its executive."[64] Political problems in England were then causing great trouble which, together with Cromwell's death and the Restoration put an end to this and other plans for missions that he had. This society was brought again to life under Charles II and supported missionary work in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Then an interesting thing happened. In 1709, letters from the first missionaries to India, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschau, sent under the auspices of Frederick IV, King of Denmark, to Tranquebar, a Danish settlement on the south-east coast of India were received, telling

of their work there. These letters were translated into English and published. They were sent to the SPG in London, along with a request for financial aid for the mission. But this society, unable because of its charter to support any work outside the English colonies, sent the letter on to the SPCK, whose chief works were their charity schools and the publication of literature. They were not bound by charter, and their interest was caught. In 1710 a subscription was opened and gifts for the mission were received. They subsequently tried to enlist missionaries in England, but in this they failed.

It is interesting to note that this English society, with full approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops of the Church of England, undertook to support - and continued to support for many years - a Christian mission whose preachers were ordained by the Lutheran Church. As early as 1719, Archbishop Wake wrote to Ziegenbald showing that the SPCK was acting with the full approval of the Church of England. And as late as 1812, a letter from Bishop Heber says, "The SPCK recognized their ordination, and no one will blame the Society."[65] The East India Company had proved to be of great help to this early mission, transporting books and letters without charge.

During this same period, the missionary spirit was also coming to life in Scotland. In the year 1647, the General Assembly recorded a desire to take the Gospel to the unconverted, "Especially to the Jews."[66] But nothing is known to have come of it. In 1709 the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was founded in Edinburgh. While their chief interest was missions to the Highlands, they also gave a grant of five hundred and forty-three pounds to the Presbyterian colonists in New York and New Jersey to maintain two missionaries to the Indians there. One of these men was David Brainerd, whose short work

of three years, 1744 to 1747 accomplished great things among the Delaware Indians. A few years later, this society began translation of the Bible into Gaelic.

While Britain was experiencing these small beginnings, all creating much interest and firing the imaginations of the people, it should be remembered that the great movement of the Moravian Missions was being born and growing in Germany. When, in 1731 Count Zinzendorf attended the coronation of King Christian IV in Copenhagen, he saw there two Eskimoes, sent by Hans Egede, a Norwegian clergyman sent to Greenland by the Danish Halle Mission - a work which was about to be closed down. At the same time he heard about the sufferings of the slaves in the West Indies, and actually talked with Anthony Ulrich, a negro slave from St. Thomas. When he reported on these situations to the Brethren upon his return to Herrnhut, they accepted this information as a message from God - a signal for action. Two young men, Leonard Dober and Thomas Leupold wrote to Zinzendorf and, "Made the first recorded offer of service to Moravian Missions."[67] The result was the beginning of the greatest missionary movement ever known, when the two men set out for St. Thomas in the West Indies and two others left for Greenland to establish New Herrnhut. Within the next few years, missionaries went to heathen areas in many parts of the world, and in fifty years, these Brethren had set up twenty-seven mission stations served by one hundred and sixty-five missionaries. And by 1832, exactly a hundred years later, "The work comprised forty-one stations with forty thousand persons in charge served by two hundred and nine brethren and sisters."[68]

As the eighteenth century advanced, many ideas and motivations were "Working together for good" for the advancement of Christ's kingdom.

For all, the desire to win souls for that kingdom was the primary motive. Underlying that desire was love - love for Christ and consequently a love for mankind. This love resulted in a compelling drive in both men and women to share their new faith, their joy in their salvation and their hope for eternal life in a Heavenly hereafter. Many were inspired by letters and reports arriving home from missionaries already at work in some distant land telling of converts and miracles as well as of hardships. Others were inspired by many of the great missionary hymns written during this time. One of the earliest and perhaps best known was Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun written by Isaac Watts in 1719. And in a more light-hearted vein, tales of romance and adventure were arriving via ships returning home from remote and alluring places all over the globe, which stirred the imaginations and broadened peoples' horizons, causing them to dream of far away places with strange sounding names.

Beyond all this, there were also strong cultural and ethical motivations that weighed heavily on men's minds. For example, William Carey, unquestionably dedicated to spreading the Gospel in India voiced a sense of what must be considered a cultural motive. He wrote: "Can we hear that they are without the Gospel, without government, without laws, and without arts and sciences; and not exert ourselves to introduce amongst them the sentiments of men and of Christians? Would not the spread of the Gospel be the most effectual means of their civilization? Would not that make them useful members of Society?"[69] A clearly ethical motive was that of indebtedness, in particular to the Africans who had suffered from the slave trade. In the charge given to two German missionaries sent out by the Church Missionary Society in 1804, Josiah Pratt said: "The temporal misery of the whole Heathen World has

been dreadfully aggravated by its intercourse with men who bear the name of Christians : but the Western Coast of Africa between the Tropics, and more especially that part between the Line and the Tropic of Cancer, has not only, in common with other heathen countries, received from us our diseases and our vices, but it has even been the chief theatre of the inhuman Slave Trade; and tens of thousands of its children have been annually torn from their dearest connections, to minister to the luxuries of men bearing the Christian name ... and though Western Africa may justly charge her sufferings from the trade upon all Europe directly or remotely, yet the British nation is now and has long been most deeply criminal. We desire, therefore, while we pray and labour for the removal of this evil, to make Western Africa the best remuneration in our power for its manifold wrongs."[70]

So with hearts filled with love, and minds inspired by lofty motives, many young men and women responded to the call for volunteers to go out as missionaries, caring little that they would face dangers and difficulties, problems and privations, despair and death. The love and inspiration bred in them a holy zeal which, together with the dedication to put it into action gave rise to the numerous missionary and missionary type societies that began to come into existence at the turn of the century. Added to this was the ability in many of the members of these new societies to raise money with which to finance the missionary projects, thus enabling the rapid growth of their missions. Nor was there, for the most part, any shortage of manpower. The religious fervor resulting from the revivals caused even poor men to offer themselves as missionaries. Their spiritual convictions acted as the spur; and with some effort on their parts, and with a modicum of education, a career as a missionary backed by one of the societies became a sudden and dazzling possibility.

The Birth of Modern Missions

The year 1792 is considered by many as the year of the birth of modern missions. It is the year that saw the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society at Kettering - the society which sent William Carey as its first missionary to India. However, Max Warren in his study on the modern missionary movement suggests the year 1789 as the year that ushered in this great expansion of the Christian Church. He writes: "In that year, the Eclectic Society in London, a group of as yet unknown and undistinguished clergy and laity, took for their subject of discussion on February 16th the question, 'What is the best method of propagating the Gospel in the East Indies?' ... In 1789 Carey became a Baptist minister in Leicester, and never ceased to press the subject of Missions upon the attention of his fellow ministers. 1789 also saw the first of William Wilberforce's great parliamentary speeches on the subject of slavery."[71]

Eugene Stock, historian of the Church Missionary Society claims the year 1786 instead as the great year to claim the birth of modern missions. He lists twelve outstanding events which occurred in that year as his reasons.

"In this year:

1. William Wilberforce (who had shortly before experienced his conversion) solemnly resolved 'to live to God's glory and his fellow-creature's good'.

2. Thomas Clarkson's essay against the slave-trade was published and began its work of influencing the public mind.

3. Granville Sharp (he produced the famous brief that brought about the freedom of slaves in England in 1772) formulated his plan for settling liberated slaves at Sierra Leone.

4. David Brown, the first of the five chaplains to a military orphanage landed in Bengal.

5. Charles Grant at Calcutta conceived the idea of a great mission to India. He was a director of the East India Company from 1792 and later its charman.

6. William Carey proposed at a Baptist Ministers meeting the considerations of their responsibility to the heathen.

7. The first shipload of convicts was sent to Australia, and a chaplain was sent with them.

8. The Eclectic Society discussed Foreign Missions for the first time, the question being 'What is the best method of planting and propagating the Gospel in Botany Bay?'

9. A visit by Christian Friedrich Schwartz, Halle educated missionary with the Danish Mission in India who pioneered Christian vernacular schools there, and who was the SPCK Lutheran missionary in South India to Tinnevelly which led, more than twenty years after, to the establishment of the Church Missionary Society Tinnevelly Mission.

10. Dr. Coke, the great Wesleyan missionary leader, made the first of his eighteen voyages across the Atlantic to carry the Gospel to the negro slaves in the West Indies, an enterprise afterwards joined in by the Church Missionary Society and several other societies.

11. The Act of Parliament which enabled the Church of England to commence its Colonial and Missionary Episcopate was passed.

12. Dr. Thurlow, Bishop of Lincoln, preaching the annual sermon of the SPG advocated the evangelization of India. And he appealed to the East India Company to build churches and support clergymen for them."[72]

The Baptist Missionary Society

William Carey; Foundation of the Society in 1792; John Thomas, Surgeon; Missionary work begun in India.

Following this year, 1786, William Carey never ceased to work for the establishment of a missionary society within the Baptist Church, of which he was an ordained minister. He cobbled shoes and taught school

in order to keep his family alive, but he studied constantly and longed to carry the Gospel to the heathen. To begin with, he received little support from his fellow Baptist ministers. At a meeting of ministers in 1786 in Northampton, Carey's suggestion to send the Gospel to the heathen was answered by the rebuke, "You are a miserable enthusiast for asking such a question. Certainly nothing can be done before another Pentecost, when an effusion of miraculous gifts, including the gift of tongues will give effect to the commission of Christ as at first."[73] But even such a public snub could not quench his spirit, and at each successive meeting of the ministers, year after year, Carey continued to press his case. He also put his ideas into writing in his now famous, An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings and the Practicability of Further Undertakings are considered by William Carey.

Slowly, one by one, a few friends of Carey, ministers in Northamptonshire who were praying monthly for revival, came to agree with his thinking. Then, at the ministers meeting on 31 May, 1792, Carey was asked to preach to the meeting. Seizing his opportunity, using Isaiah 54:2, 3 as his text - "Enlarge the place of your tent, and let the curtains of your habitations be stretched out; hold not back, lengthen your cords and strengthen your stakes. For you will spread abroad to the right and to the left, and your descendants will possess the nations and will people the desolate cities", - he preached what has since become a guide for many missionary meetings --- "Expect Great Things from God. Attempt Great Things for God." That night, plans were made to propose A Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among

the Heathen at the next meeting. This was done, but the actual formation of the society did not take place until the ministers meeting at Kettering in October 1792. This first missionary society of the era did not, like many that followed it, quickly find large sums of money with which to set the operation into motion. In fact, the first offering amounted to just a little over thirteen pounds! From then on, Andrew Fuller, minister of the church in Kettering spent much of his time travelling about Britain to gather funds.

During this time, a young surgeon, John Thomas, on service on an East India ship had been baptized, and decided to give himself to evangelizing in India. He had been studying the language of Bengal since 1786, so he could easily communicate with the people. Seeing the success of the Danish mission to the south, he decided to return to England to get support and a colleague. Having heard of the new movement of the Baptists, he applied and became their first appointed missionary. Carey volunteered to become his colleague, and the two sailed for India in 1793 - but not on an East India ship, for the company was opposed to the whole idea. For six years Carey and Thomas worked in the north of India, all the way to the borders of Bhutan. Then in 1799, four more missionaries arrived and the six joined together to begin a mission in Serampore, just fourteen miles from Calcutta. Two of the new arrivals died shortly. The remaining four were a great combination to launch the new mission. "Thomas was a surgeon, Carey a linguist of exceptional powers, William Ward an experienced printer and Joshua Marshman a schoolmaster."[74] This combination proved to be a real formula for success. By 1812 tracts had been published in twenty different languages, they had taught over ten thousand children in their schools

and baptized over seven hundred converts. This first mission had set a formidable standard for all followers.

The London Missionary Society

Drs. David Bogue and Thomas Haweis; Foundation of the Society in 1795; The First Missions.

Not long after Carey and Thomas had begun their work, a letter was received from Carey by his old friend Dr. John Ryland (he had baptized Carey in 1783) who was now at the Baptist College in Bristol. Ryland invited Dr. David Bogue, minister of the Independent Chapel (Congregational) at Gosport and Rev. Stevens of the Scotch Church to share the news of this letter in which Carey told of his first six weeks in Bengal. Dr. Bogue was so moved that he wrote an article for the Evangelical Magazine with the rather strange title, To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism, in which he appealed to the readers for the cause of missions. "What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits?"[75] It was a masterful, well-thought-out appeal including facts concerning numbers of heathen, a confession on behalf of the Dissenting Church in England to sloth in this matter, and a rationale for embarking on a missionary venture adding, "I am confident that very many among us are willing, nay desirous to see such a work set on foot, and will contribute liberally of their substance for its support. Nothing is wanting but for some persons to stand forward and to begin."[76]

Shortly thereafter, in the November 1794 issue of the same magazine, Dr. Thomas Haweis, chaplain for the Countess of Huntingdon published a review of Letters on Missions addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches by Melville Horne, a former chaplain to Sierra

Leone who had tried to form a mission there. After quoting Christ's command to go to all the world, he asked, "What monies have we subscribed, what associations have we formed, what prayers have we offered up, what animated exhortations have we given to our flocks and to one another on the subject of missions?"[77] At the end of the article, Dr. Haweis informed the public that one hundred pounds had already been pledged by one man, providing a society could be formed, for the first six persons who would be willing to go as missionaries to the South Seas - and an additional five hundred pounds would be available. These two articles aroused much excitement and were largely influential in the founding of the London Missionary Society.

On 4 November, 1794 eight ministers of evangelical sects met in a London coffee house to consider the practicability of founding a new missionary society. This, and several subsequent meetings stirred up a tremendous interest in both clergy and laity. In April of 1795 the Evangelical Magazine published an address written by the Rev. George Burder of Coventry in which he urged: "Let us do something IMMEDIATELY. Life is short. Let us work while it is called today. The night of death approaches; and our opportunities of being useful will close forever. Whatsoever then our hands find to do, let us do it with all our might, and that without delay."[78] Many responded and on the 21 September, the Missionary Society - later to be called the London Missionary Society - was formed. Its constitution was non-sectarian and they stated that, "The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations."[79] A subscription for funds was opened and within a month they had over three thousand pounds. A decision was taken at the final meeting on the 25 September to send missionaries, "To Otaheite, or some other of the

islands of the South Sea."[80] It was also decided that the Evangelical Magazine would be the official organ of publication through which they would communicate with their members.

Before September of 1795 was over, "Resolutions were adopted that a full account of the foundation of the society should be sent to ministers and friends in Scotland, and to all foreign protestant churches, seeking their cooperation."[81] By the following year, letters had been received as well as some contributions from Holland, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland.

The Society immediately began to look for candidates for missionaries for this first venture. Considering the spirit of the times, in which missionary fervor was rising rapidly, candidates were soon found and examined by the committee. The ship "Duff" was purchased, and in August of 1796 thirty-six men and women with two children were ready to sail. Their first mission would soon be a reality.

The next two missions were decided upon on the 24 July, 1797 when Dr. Vanderkamp of Dordrecht was accepted as a missionary to go to Jamaica. On the same day, it was also decided to send a mission to Hindostan. And so the Missionary Society expanded its operations. "By 1820 they had missions established in the South Seas; six in Ultra Ganges (the far east); nine in the East Indies; two in Russia; two in the Greek Mission; fifteen in Africa plus one each in Mauritius and Madagascar; and four in the West Indies."[82] This was no small accomplishment in twenty-five years!

Missionary Interest in Scotland

Missionary Societies in Glasgow and Edinburgh; Robert Haldane.

Shortly after the founding of the London Missionary Society, a small beginning was made in Scotland. In February of 1796, both the Glasgow and Edinburgh Missionary Societies were formed, supported by many ministers of both the Church of Scotland and of the Secession group. In fact, "The first sermon on behalf of the Edinburgh Society was preached by Dr. Erskine."[83] The interest aroused by their formation brought the question of missionary support to the General Assemblies of both churches that year. But in spite of great general interest, support was not strong enough, for both assemblies voted against any support of the societies. The Church of Scotland claimed that these societies "Were nothing but revolutionary clubs in disguise, highly dangerous in their tendency to the good order of society at large",[84] and the Associate Synod, "Pronounced against the societies on the ground of the lowering of denominational testimony by promiscuous association in mission work."[85] The two societies decided to go ahead anyway, sending at first their financial support to the London Society. Later they were to send out missionaries to found their own missions, but no great success was to come to them, and one after another of their attempts had to be abandoned. Not until twenty-eight years had passed would the Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1824 venture into the work of foreign missions.

It was also at this time that Robert Haldane of Stirling, influenced by tales of William Carey's mission in India decided that he too ought to become a missionary to India. Already a generous subscriber to the London Missionary Society (he was, in fact, "One of the first Scotsmen

to enroll himself as a member of the London Missionary Society, giving fifty pounds to its funds in 1796"),[86] and appointed a director at its general meeting in May of the same year. In 1797 the board of that society, concerned with obtaining qualified and trained men as missionaries, heard a paper prepared by Dr. Bogue on the subject. As a result, they adopted several resolutions requesting suggestions for finding good men to be missionaries, and that ministers should seriously consider themselves for missionary work. It was as a response to these resolutions that Mr. Haldane decided to go to India, and asked Dr. Bogue to accompany him. Dr. Bogue accepted, and Benares was chosen as the site for their mission. Mr. Haldane then sold his estate at Airthrey, and set about to prepare for the new work, but the East India Company refused him a permit to land in India, in spite of influence exerted on his behalf by both Pitt and Wilberforce. The Company feared interference by the missionaries in their trade, and one of their directors actually stated that, "He would rather see a band of devils in India than a band of missionaries."[87] This defeat for Robert Haldane's missionary aspirations was to turn into a great blessing for the cause of missions in Scotland. In 1798 he and his brother, together with friends had formed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home, whose entire purpose was missionary in character. They supported in every way the Missionary Magazine, founded in 1796 by Charles Stuart, an Edinburgh physician and Greville Ewing, assistant minister at Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh. Mr. Ewing became the first editor of the magazine. It was to be a monthly publication and was, "Intended as a repository of discussion and intelligence respecting the progress of the Gospel throughout the world."[88] Circulation quickly rose to over five thousand copies and did much to foster missionary interest throughout Scotland.

The Church Missionary Society

"Church Principle"; Foundation of the Society in 1799; Henry Martyn; German Missionaries; Lay Settlers; First Missionaries in 1815.

In 1799 a third society was founded which would further even more the cause of missions in Britain - the Church Missionary Society. Several men of the Church of England, already strong supporters of the non-denominational London Missionary Society felt that, "The Church of England must have its own Missions."[89] Two years earlier, William Wilberforce, John Venn, Charles Grant and Charles Simeon had been discussing just such a society. Although these men and many other churchmen were involved in varying degrees in the other society, there was within them a loyalty to the Church of England, its episcopacy and its liturgical worship, and they agreed, "That Missions must be based on Church Principle."[90] By this was meant: "(1) That no church enterprise ought to be undertaken by individual clergymen without the bishops at their head, and (2) that every man ordained by a bishop was ipso facto fit to be a missionary."[91]

So it was only natural that these devoted churchmen should found their own missionary society which they did - in London on the 12 April, 1799, and they called it The Society for Missions to Africa and the East. This name would later be changed to simply, The Church Missionary Society. Their rules were drawn up and John Venn prepared a statement for publication saying: "It would be the committee's aim to recommend such men only as have themselves experienced the benefits of the Gospel, and therefore earnestly desire to make known to their perishing fellow-sinners the grace and power of a Redeemer, and the inestimable blessings of His salvation."[92] Wilberforce, Grant and Venn

went to present the rules to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but that gentleman was wary of the idea and would not commit himself. A year later, he gave his blessing and encouraged the society to proceed. Now this group too was faced with the three requisites - men, money and a place to establish a mission. The first of these proved to be the real stumbling block. No one within the established church could be found who was willing to leave home and head out into the unknown - such a step of faith was too great. It was not until 1802 that Henry Martyn (in 1803 to become curate to Charles Simeon) expressed a desire to become a missionary under the auspices of the society. But a number of difficulties prevented him from accepting such a post. Finally, in 1805 he became a chaplain with the East India Company and worked in India for six years. Although his name was never listed on the society's roll, he has ever since been remembered as their first English candidate.

In the meantime, the frustrated committee had begun to search outside of England for candidates. They wrote to the Berlin Missionary Seminary and there obtained two men, Melchior Renner and Peter Hartwig to become their first missionaries. Not being English churchmen, they were accepted as missionary catechists for West Africa. When the time came for them to leave, they returned first to Germany where they were ordained by their own Lutheran Church. This put them, "On a par ecclesiastically with the German and Danish missionaries of the SPCK in India."[93] The committee then accepted them as full missionaries. They sailed in 1804 to begin work in Sierra Leone and thus became the society's first real missionaries.

Until 1815 no Englishmen could be found to go as missionaries - only German Lutherans. In 1809 two candidates, William Hall and John King

were found, but they were not missionaries in the traditional sense - they were artisans going to New Zealand as, "Pioneers of industry and civilization, though with the object, through these, of introducing the Gospel; and they were called Lay Settlers."[94] Two months after these men had sailed, the committee accepted for training as a missionary a shoemaker, Thomas Norton, who eventually became a clergyman. A second candidate was William Greenwood, a blanket manufacturer who also studied to be a clergyman. At first, both men were refused ordination - it was believed they sought ordination only as a stepping-stone to becoming missionaries. But finally, in 1813, ordination was granted; but it was not until 1815 that they sailed as missionaries.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

> Wesley and Missions; Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman, forerunners; Missionary work of Dr. Thomas Coke; "Godly Jealously"; Founding of the Society in 1813.

A late-comer among the many societies being formed during these years was the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, founded in 1813. The missionary idea was not a new one to the Methodists. Both John and Charles Wesley had themselves been missionaries to Georgia in 1736-1738. When John Wesley later embarked on his career of itinerant preaching, he claimed the entire world as his parish - and Methodists have ever since claimed this as the beginning of their world expansion. In their rebellion against Calvinism, the Wesleys preached a doctrine of universal redemption. Following this came the pursuit of holiness - they longed for and sought the internal work of the Holy Spirit for sanctification. "This is the order of things in the economy of grace - saintship and service, inward dedication and outward activity; the sanctifying of heart and will imports the yielding of hands and tongue,

talents and goods, an entire and living sacrifice."[95] With such inner compulsion, it would have been impossible for the Methodists NOT to form a missionary society. Besides, by the time of the formation of their society, the Methodists had actually already been engaged in missionary work for fifty years.

As early as 1769, the Methodist Conference had collected the vast sum of seventy pounds and sent two men, Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman as missionaries to America. The result of their work was the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church there. Then in 1786, Wesley appointed Thomas Coke to superintend these missions, perhaps as a result of Coke's great interest in missions. He had in 1784 published his idea, Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen. It met with little response. Then, on the way to America in that same year, his ship was driven far off course in a storm, and they landed on Antigua, an island in the West Indies. There he found a large body of Christian negroes - the result of the work of the Moravian missionaries - and he soon proceeded to establish a Methodist mission on the island. From this time on, he worked unceasingly for missionary enterprise in the Methodist societies, with the result that both interest in missions and missionary projects continued to increase. In a report given to a Liverpool conference in July 1813, the numbers of Methodists around the world in missionary enterprises were: "100 in France; 127 in Gibralter; 96 in Sierra Leone; 1,522 in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; 15,220 in the West Indies and 216,000 in the U.S.A."[96]

The care of these missions must have presented an awesome task for just one man and his committee, and there was no way of collecting

funds to support these missions except by Dr. Coke's begging rounds. Finally, as a result of much financial embarrassment, a Committee of Finance and Advice was formed in 1804 which consisted of all the Methodist preachers in London. But even this was not sufficient to handle all the work efficiently.

The circumstance which probably brought the most pressure to bear on the Methodists for forming their own missionary society was what their own historians have labeled "Godly jealousy". Two groups in particular, the London Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society were soliciting funds for their work on a regular basis from all the free churches, Methodists included. Their people were intensely interested in missions, and they gave liberally to all such appeals. When Dr. Coke became aware of this, he wrote to his committee in 1812: "The LMS are forming committees of two or three of OUR friends, to raise annual subscriptions among OUR societies and hearers for support of THEIR missions."[97] It is easy to believe that this became a strong argument in favor of forming their own society!

With the background of Dr. Coke's already established missions, with their own enthusiastic missionary interest, and with the Godly jealousy of the leaders, the Methodists proceeded to form their own society. The Rev. George Morley who travelled in the Leeds circuit and the Rev. Jabez Bunting, chairman of the District were responsible for this step. At a meeting in Leeds on 6 October, 1813, the Rev. Morley brought up the subject, and a Missionary Society for the Leeds District was proposed and accepted. Nineteen resolutions were accepted and the Methodist Platform was produced. Other societies in surrounding districts soon followed suit - only a few held back, claiming that,

"Methodist Chapels were established only for Divine Worship of God - not for public meetings for perilous innovations."[98] In 1814, after the death of Dr. Coke, the committee accepted laymen as members and became known as the "executive committee". But not until 1817 was a constitution for a general foreign mission department discussed, and then a plan for a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society drawn up. Its final form was adopted by the Conference in 1818 and the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society came officially into being.

The Religious Tract Society

> Forerunners - the SPCK, Hannah More, Mrs. Wilkinson, Rev. John Campbell, Wesley, others; The Rev. George Burder; Formation of the Society in 1799; Early Successes; Foreign Work.

Besides all the great missionary societies, two literary societies were founded during this era which were to be of invaluable assistance to them. The first of these was the Religious Tract Society, founded in 1799, proposed at the annual meetings of the London Missionary Society in that year. The spreading of religious tracts was not a new idea. For a full century, the SPCK had been publishing and distributing Christian literature of this kind. Hannah More had for many years been writing small tracts for her work with Sunday Schools. And following her, a Mrs. Rebecca Wilkinson of Clapham, together with some of her friends printed a large number of tracts. In fact, her work might be judged through numbers alone. With the aid of the Philanthropic Society, "211,000 books and 229,250 tracts and pocket prayer-books were printed for her."[99]

Much earlier, in 1750, the Society for Diffusing Religious Knowledge among the Poor published many small books for both children and adults.

And still earlier, John Wesley noted in his Journal, dated 20 December, 1745, "We had within a short time given away some thousands of little tracts among the common people." And in 1788 his Arminian Magazine appeared. In 1787 an undenominational Society for the Reformation of Manners was begun by Wilberforce for the distribution of tracts against prevalent vices, especially drunkenness. By the end of the century, the many religious peroidicals of the era had appeared.

In Scotland, tract circulation was begun in 1789 by the Rev. John Campbell who had earlier come into contact with such a publication at a book stall. He was so impressed with the tract he saw that he had an edition of it printed and circulated. He had repeated this process several times as he came across other tracts which he felt would be of value to others, when some of his friends suggested that tract circulation could be done more effectively by forming a society for that purpose. This he did in 1793 and about which he wrote: "About a dozen formed ourselves into a Religious Tract Society. This, as far as I know, was the first society of this kind that ever existed in the world."[100] This was the Religious Book and Tract Society which later expanded to become the Religious Book and Tract Society of Scotland in 1855.

In 1799, the Rev. George Burder came to London, partly to attend to business losses incurred by the bankruptcy of a London bookseller who had published many tracts for him. Feeling that privately financed ventures of this type were inadequate, he hoped to meet with and persuade some fellow ministers to establish a non-sectarian society to publish and circulate tracts and other literature of an

evangelical nature. His arguments were persuasive and on 9 and 10 May, forty of his friends met and the Religious Tract Society was founded. In July they issued an address to the public in which they stated their purpose and plan. They wrote: "Let the fair picture of religion hang in public, and each strong persuasive find its way into all surrounding connections. Let volumes be condensed into a few pages; let pious ingenuity toil - while twice ten thousand hands distribute the salutary produce from family to family, and from county to county; and 'May He, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels and all just works do proceed, unite the hearts of His people in such an undertaking - inspire them with all needful wisdom and energy - and accomplish their most extended desires'."[101]

The first tract published by the society was written by Dr. Bogue and, "Has frequently been called the Society's Act of Parliament."[102] In this address is listed what he considered to be the seven qualities that ought to be found in a good tract. The first was pure truth. The second, called the society's "Golden Rule" stated: "Each should contain some account of the way of salvation, (so that if a person were to see but one and never had an opportunity of seeing another, he might plainly perceive that, in order for his salvation, he must be born again of the Spirit, and justified by faith in the obedience of Jesus Christ our Lord)."[103] The other five were: that it should be plain; it should be striking; it should be entertaining; it should be full of ideas; and all tracts should be adapted to various situations and conditions. "This steadfastness of the aim and the simplicity of the expression show the earnestness with which the fathers and founders of the society went to work, and explained the success with which, under God, its efforts have been crowned."[104] In 1805 the

committee inaugurated a new series called Hawkers Tracts (simply, tracts to be sold by hawkers on the streets) - an attempt to live up to the quality of being entertaining, in order to appeal to the popular taste. This move succeeded and within the first year, half a million more were sold. In estimating their value, Mr. Hewitt says: "It is well also to remember that they were one of the chief agencies of a moral revolution."[105]

As early as the first year of its existence, tracts were being translated into foreign languages, mainly for French prisoners of war and for Dutch and German sailors in England. Correspondence with Christians on the Continent was opened and within three years regular correspondence had been established with tract societies in Berne, Basel, Heidelberg and Eberfeld. In fact, at about the same time that the Religious Tract Society was being formed in London, a similar society was founded in Fuhnen in Denmark, "To extend the influence of pure and vital Christianity by the dispersing of edifying tracts."[106] By September of 1802, correspondence existed between the two societies.

The British and Foreign Bible Society

Early Bible Distribution; The Need for Bibles; Formation of the Society in 1804; The First Ten Years.

The second of the literary societies was the British and Foreign Bible Society. Here again, there was nothing new in the idea of the society. Bibles had been distributed by both the SPCK and the SPG for one hundred years. Bible distribution was included in the operations of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Poor in 1750, and of the Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday

Schools in 1785. There was even a Bible Society founded in 1780 whose purpose was to circulate the Scriptures in the army and navy of Great Britain.

An early circumstance which brought about the founding of this new Bible society was the financial inability of the SPCK to furnish a large enough supply of Welsh Bibles in about 1793. Not until 1799 did the SPCK venture to print ten thousand copies, but this number supplied only one fourth of the need. A second circumstance was the visit of a committee of the London Missionary Society to Paris in 1802 to see about beginning evangelistic work there. "The booksellers' shops were searched for some days before a single copy of the Scriptures could be found."[107] When this report was heard, the society immediately decided to print an edition of the New Testament in French and even voted eight hundred and forty-five pounds for, "The diffusion of Christian literature in France and Italy."[108]

The founding of the Religious Tract Society and their calm continuation to print and distribute tracts throughout the troubled, war-threatened times, especially in 1803 when rumors of invasion by Napoleon were planting fear in the hearts of all Britons, had won the admiration and support of some of the great political figures of the day. In December of 1803 some of these men met and the question was submitted as to, "How a large and cheap edition of the Bible could be had in Welsh and how, if possible, a permanent repository of Bibles could be procured, that there might be no more scarcity of them among the poor Welsh."[109] During the discussion, the Rev. Mr. Hughes, Baptist minister from Battersea asked the question which has now become famous in Bible societies - "Surely a society might be formed for that purpose; and if for Wales, why not for the Kingdom; why not for the

whole world?"[110] At the annual meeting of the Religious Tract Society in May of 1803, the need for such an association was strongly urged. Finally, in March of 1804, a public meeting was held and the Rev. John Owen, curate and lecturer of Fulham and editor of the Evangelical Magazine moved the adoption of the resolutions which were to establish the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Within a week, a committee of thirty-six members was chosen and it was representative of all Christians in Britain. Fifteen members were from the Church of England, fifteen from other Christian communions and six were foreigners resident near London. A constitution was adopted, its first statement being: "The designation of this Society shall be the British and Foreign Bible Society, of which the sole object shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment; the only copies in the languages of the United Kingdom to be circulated by the Society shall be the Authorized Version."[111]

Publicity was now necessary. The Evangelical Magazine gave, as usual, outstanding reporting to the general public. A prospectus stating the aims and principles was prepared and distributed widely. The Rev. C. Steinkopff, pastor of the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy in London, and also foreign secretary of the Religious Tract Society provided contacts with leaders and societies on the Continent, having been, several years earlier, secretary of the Christian Society of Basel, "At that time a centre of manifold religious agencies."[112] Soon reports of great need for the Scriptures were coming in from many lands. As a result, the first auxiliary Bible Society on the Continent was formed in May of 1804 in Nuremburg, and five thousand copies of a German New Testament were ordered for distribution in Austria and Germany. They

soon received requests for Bibles in many other languages, and the first application of their funds for a foreign version was for two thousand copies of a Mohawk-English Gospel of St. John!

The Society was now well-launched and contributions, in spite of the many problems caused by the war were generous. Patronage was strong, and the Society quickly acquired many friends. But until 1809, only one auxiliary was formed in Britain and that was in Birmingham. Then, after a sudden spurt of rapid growth, there was, by 1814, an auxiliary in every shire in England. That not everyone was in favor of the new Society could be expected, and an interesting address to Lord Teignmouth, the Society's first president, appeared in the Evangelical Magazine. The writer claimed: "It appears that this said Society is a kind of wooden horse, craftily fabricated, and filled with persons armed with Bibles, to pull down the Church, corrupt the manners of the people, lead the clergy into temptation and endanger the salvation of immortal souls ... Fire must be called down from Heaven upon you; for if such projects as yours become popular and numerous, you will pull down the church and starve the clergy."[113]

In spite of such criticism, the Society flourished. In its fourth year, its revenues exceeded twelve thousand pounds and in its ninth, seventy thousand pounds. At the tenth anniversary meeting of the Society in May of 1814, the president announced: "A total of one million, one hundred and forty-eight thousand, eight hundred and fifty copies of the Scriptures had been circulated on the Continent alone."[114] Societies were known to exist in North America and in most countries on the Continent. Bibles had been distributed from Russia and all of Scandinavia to Africa, Asia and the West Indies. Surely the hopes of its founders were not only fulfilled, but overwhelmingly exceeded!

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CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN SWEDEN

A. EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Anskar - 837 A.D.; British Missionaries through the Eleventh Century; Establishment and Growth of the Catholic Church; Its Decline.

B. THE REFORMATION

1. Lutheranism

Olaus Petri and Gustavus Vasa; Riksdags of 1527 and 1571; Uppsala meeting of 1593 and the Adoption of the Augsburg Confession; Riksdag of 1595; A United Church under Carl IX and Gustavus Adolphus II; Church men - Johannes Rudbeckius, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, and Johannes Matthiae.

2. Reform Influences

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C. NEW INFLUENCES AND THE BEGINNING OF CHANGE

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2. Herrnhutism

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Anskar - 837 A.D.; British Missionaries through the Eleventh Century; Establishment and Growth of the Catholic Church; Its Decline.

That missionaries should find their way from Britain to Sweden in the nineteenth century should come as no surprise to either the Swedes or the British, for their coming was, in a way, a repetition of history. The arrival of John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson in Sweden in 1807 was not the first time missionaries of the Christian faith had arrived there from Britain.

It is thought by many that the Christian church in Sweden was founded by Anskar, a monk of Corbie near Amiens. He arrived at Birka, an important trading city in Lake Malar in 829, where he remained for two years, founding his mission. Upon his return to Germany to make a report to his bishop, he was consecrated Archbishop of Hamburg, which was later united with the See of Bremen. The mission in Birka continued through the work of Rimbert, Anskar's successor, who was also Anskar's biographer, through which work we have most of our information of this early mission. During the following 150 years, little is known of the small mission except that it continued to live.

At this point in history, two remarkable men, both kings of Norway are known to have accepted the Christian faith. Olof Tryggvason, who reigned from 995 to 1000 is considered the first Christian king in that country, although two of his predecessors, Hakon the Good and Harald Grayskin both tried unsuccessfully to introduce Christianity to that land. Olof was baptized by a hermit in the Scilly Isles, and later confirmed by Aelfheah the Bald, Bishop of Winchester (later known as

St. Alphege of Canterbury) while on a Viking raid in England. When Olof returned to Norway, he brought with him Christian missionaries. Wherever he went, he brought people to Christian baptism - although it is not certain that all those baptized were willing victims. Of these missionaries, John, Sigfrid and Grimkil, little is actually known. What is known is that Sigfrid travelled east from Norway into Sweden and made his faith known there.

Several years after Olof's death, his godson, Olof Haraldson claimed the throne and ruled for ten years until 1025. As a Christian king, he was a strong organizer of both civil and church law. He too brought English bishops to the northland to teach their faith - Rudolf (who later became Abbot of Abingdon) and Bernard. Sigfrid, known as Sigurd in the north, was a monk from Glastonbury. After a stay in Norway, his missionary activity took him eastward into Västmanland in Sweden where he baptized the Swedish king, Olof Skötkonung. He is also known to have preached in Småland, a southern province, and is there venerated as founder of the church in Växjö. He was buried under the altar in that cathedral where his tombstone was visible until about 1600.

From this time on there were Christian bishops in Sweden, the kings embraced Christianity, and the number of churches increased. Skötkonung founded the church and the See of Skara in about 1020, for which the archbishop in Bremen consecrated Thurgot as bishop, thus establishing the succession of bishops in Sweden - a succession which remains unbroken to the present day. At the close of the eleventh century, Skara had had three more bishops - Rodulward, Ricolf and Hervard (Edward) - all Englishmen. The neighboring See of Västerås claims an

English saint, the monk and abbot David, as its founder. He was a monk of the Cluniac order who came to the land some time after 1020. At first he labored in the southern part of the country and later transferred his activity to the province of Västmanland. He was martyred in 1082. Another Englishman, St. Eskil labored in Södermanland at the same time. And in 1152, the Englishman Nicholas Breakspeare visited Sweden as a Papal legate for the purpose of establishing an archbishopric there. Last in this list was St. Botvid, a native Swedish missionary who was baptized in England.

At this point, the influence of Rome began to make itself known through the interest and work of Pope Gregory VII. He wrote the first known letters from the Papacy to Sweden in 1080 and 1081, asking for a representative to be sent to Rome to give him information on the Swedes and their nation. It is thought that the English bishop Rodulward of Skara made that visit.

For about the next four hundred years, the power of the Roman Church grew in Sweden, and along with it, the same abuses that existed in the church on the continent. As a result, there was great dissatisfaction with the church and its connection with the Papacy. The independent Swedes neither could nor would tolerate interference from Rome, and they were fed up with the excessive wealth and power of the higher clergy at home. The revenues of the church were enormous and one historian has estimated that the "Annual income of the bishops and consistories was about twelve times the revenues of the state."[1]

The archbishop, Gustaf Trolle, now enthroned at Uppsala, had become a man of great power in the national government - so much so that his time was entirely taken up with ruling the nation, and as a result

failed to rule the church. His ruthless actions towards those who dared to disagree with him had earned him the hatred of many of the Swedes. In 1523, Trolle was deposed (for a second time) from the office of archbishop by a meeting of the Riksdag (Parliament) in Strängnäs - the same Riksdag which elected Gustavus Vasa as king of the realm. A new archbishop was elected, but confirmation from the Pope was not forthcoming. He sided with Trolle. Instead, Rome appointed an Italian prelate as Bishop of Skara to look after matters until the problem of the archbishop could be sorted out. This was a tactical error of the first order. An Italian prelate as Bishop of Skara was unthinkable, absolutely unacceptable to the Swedes. As a temporary solution, the Pope then appointed a Swedish bishop, Johannes Magni to handle the business of the archiepiscopal office until the matter could be settled. But none of these actions provided the Swedes with any real satisfaction. So with the affairs of the church in such a state of upheaval, Sweden was ripe for the Reformation, already underway in Germany and other lands to the south.

THE REFORMATION

Lutheranism

Olaus Petri and Gustavus Vasa; Riksdags of 1527 and 1571; Uppsala meeting of 1593 and the Adoption of the Augsburg Confession; Riksdag of 1595; A United Church under Carl IX and Gustavus Adolphus II; Churchmen Johannes Rudbeckius, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus and Johannes Matthiae.

Protestant Lutheranism, brought about by the Reformation can be said to have become an accomplished fact in Sweden by the early part of the seventeenth century. The greatest man in the movement was Olaus Petri, who preached and taught in Strängnäs the new doctrines he had learned while studying in Wittenburg, where he was a personal friend of both

Luther and Melancthon. He was strongly supported in leadership by his younger brother Laurentius and by their good friend, archdeacon Laurentius Andreae. Andreae was a learned theologian who had become chancellor to the king. He believed that the church was a congregation of the believers and its property therefore naturally belonged to those who constituted the congregation. This belief was quite happily accepted by the king who had a strong desire as well as a need for the seemingly limitless treasures of the church.

So, at a meeting of the Riksdag in Västerås in 1527, the church was stripped of much of its lands and power. This should probably be considered a political rather than a religious action, for the king, Gustavus Vasa (1496-1560) whose coffers were literally empty, was anxious to see this done in order to appropriate the wealth which could be gained by such a move. Now the king would have a free hand to take and use whatever monies of the church and the monasteries he wished.

The second important decision of the Riksdag of 1527 was that the bishops and other clergy were never again to apply to Rome for confirmation. Preachers would be permitted to preach the new faith in the churches, and both burghers and peasants would be permitted to inquire into it.

Under the leadership of the two Petris and Andreae, the following years saw the translation of the Bible into Swedish - the earliest was a translation of Erasmus' revision from the Vulgate. A liturgy was written for the Swedish church as well as a catechism : a hymn book was published : and many books were printed. But not until 1531 did a definite break come with Rome, at which time Laurentius Petri was

elected archbishop, giving Sweden its first Protestant archbishop. He was consecrated by Petrus Magnii who had been consecrated in Rome, this maintaining the unbroken succession in Sweden.

By the Ordinance of 1571, protestant Lutheranism was officially adopted in Sweden, and the Reformation can be said to have become an accomplished fact by the early part of the seventeenth century. King John, second son of Gustavus Vasa had ascended the throne in 1568 after the death of his older brother Eric, and remained king until his death in 1592. He was succeeded by his brother Charles in 1604 - the interlude giving the throne to Sigismund, John's son who had become the king of Poland and who was an ardent Roman Catholic. However, immediately following John's death, the clergy, who had assembled for his funeral requested a council. The request was granted and a council was convened in 1593 in Uppsala. Their purpose in coming was to determine church doctrine, ceremonies and discipline, and to elect an archbishop and other bishops. At this meeting, the Augsburg Confession, after being examined thoroughly point by point, was accepted unanimously. From this time on, the church took its direction as a single, unified state church, and a rigid, uncompromising Lutheran orthodoxy began to develop.

Although it was now a protestant rather than a Roman Catholic church with ties in Rome, the church in Sweden still played an important role in the government of the land as one of the four Estates - or Orders - which had ruled the kingdom for many years. These four Estates - the Nobility, Clergy, Burghers and Peasants - constituted the Riksdag, and as such ruled the land together with the king and his council. In this way, the church continued to have a significant say in governing the land for many years. Concerning the action of the council of 1593,

Wordsworth says: "It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of this council as a turning point in the history of Sweden."[2]

Two years after the Uppsala Meeting in 1593 another event occurred which must be mentioned. Duke Charles, a great admirer of both Melancthon and Calvin convened a Riksdag at Söderköping in 1595. It seems that many attempts were being made by King John and his wife Catherine (sister of the previous king of Poland and an ardent Roman Catholic), and also by Sigismund, their son, who was almost fanatical in his loyalty to Rome, to effect a reconciliation between Rome and Sweden. Moreover, when Sigismund took the obligatory oath to accept the Augsburg Confession in order to be crowned king in 1594, he had no intention whatsoever of abiding by it. Soon thereafter he not only instituted the mass in Stockholm, but appointed Roman Catholics as members of his council and as provincial governors. As a result, the decision was taken at the Riksdag in 1595 that, "All Catholic priests must leave the country, the Catholic laymen being permitted to remain as long as they refrained from agitation against the Lutheran faith and against the Swedish government."[3] It was even decided that, "Foreign dissenters from the evangelical religion were to be exiled from the kingdom ... Swedes might remain, provided they did not cause scandal."[4] This decision was to cause trouble for many years to come.

As can be expected, matters between Sigismund and his Uncle Charles deteriorated quickly after this - to such an extent that Sigismund invaded Sweden with a Polish army. In September of 1598 a battle was fought at Stångebro in southern Sweden. Sigismund was defeated and forced to return to his home in Poland. He was then formally deposed from the Swedish throne as a Papist, and his uncle, Duke Charles was crowned King Carl IX in 1604.

During the following century, the church forged ahead, rising to great heights of pure orthodoxy, although troubled frequently by abuses and the infiltration of a Calvinistic evangelicalism and Pietism. A strong emphasis was placed on developing church law, and instruction and education were high priorities. But, as was true of the reformers on the continent, little thought was given to missions - to sharing their religion. All the energy of the reformers went into the building of their new Lutheran church. But there were many strong and great men in the church, as well as the king himself - Carl IX's son, Gustavus Adolphus II. The king supported the Augsburg Confession and, "Allied himself with the church as he found it."[5] Axel Oxenstierna, Chancellor to Gustavus Adolphus and possibly the greatest statesman Sweden ever had, was a devout Lutheran and a vocal anti-Roman Catholic. He had an inquiring mind which led him to both question and listen.

One of the greatest churchmen during the early part of this century was Johannes Rudbeckius, Bishop of Västerås, and one of the first doctors of theology ever raised in the kingdom. His interest in education led to the founding of several schools : he assisted in founding an orphanage : he rebuilt the local hospital : and he saw to it that church law was obeyed. Perhaps the most outstanding of his contributions was the system of Church Registers which he established in his own diocese and which later became the system used for many years in all of Sweden.

Two other men of this era who should be mentioned were Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, Bishop of Strängnäs, raised to archbishop in Uppsala in 1637, and Johannes Matthiae, an eminent teacher and tutor of Christina, the future queen. Gothus was an educator who founded schools and published a sort of encyclopaedia called "Ethica Christiana".

Matthiae was an Uppsala professor who later became Bishop of Strängnäs, and became a good friend to Comenius, the Moravian bishop and educator.

Reform Influences

> Fifteenth Century Mercenaries; John Forbes; Laws of 1672 and 1686; Calvinists Louis deGeer and John Durie; John Amos Comenius.

What was going on theologically on the European continent was well-known in Sweden during these years. Actually, reformed thinking outside Lutheranism was becoming known and feared as early as 1565 when King Eric, first son of Gustavus Vasa issued a strong mandate against "distorted doctrines" - by which Calvinism was intended. And at the Uppsala meeting in 1593, the council rejected, "All the errors of Sacramentarians, Zwinglians and Calvinists, and also Anabaptists, and all other heretics by whatever name they are called."[6] This resolution was of much annoyance to the then king, Carl IX, who had strong Calvinist leanings and who employed a Calvinist chaplain. This same chaplain engaged in a disputation at Uppsala in 1608 with a Scot, John Forbes. He was a Calvinist theologian and had been moderator of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1605. He spent an entire day at Uppsala explaining and defending his faith, but when he proclaimed the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute election, the Swedes stopped listening. And so the most that can be said for his visit was that the reform message had been heard.

Earlier, during the sixteenth century, Scots had begun to come to Sweden in increasing numbers. From 1557 to at least 1561, King Eric had courted both Queen Elizabeth of England and Mary, Queen of Scots. While nothing came of his courtship, one positive result of the envoys' visits was the enlistment of troops for the Swedish army, which they

strongly promoted. During the next decade, several troops of Scottish cavalry are known to have fought alongside the Swedes and the military records are liberally sprinkled with their names, and "Most of these men were of the Reformed faith."[7] After the wars were over, some of them settled down as burghers in Sweden, and Scottish names - or distortions thereof - can be found in many parts of the country to this day.

It is from this time and in connection with the Scots that we hear of what could very well have been the first missionary accomplishment of the Swedish Church, albeit an unintentional one. In his work on religion in Sweden, the Scottish minister James Lumsden relates a tale concerning Lord Reay and his four hundred men from Sutherlandshire who fought in the army for Gustavus Adolphus. He writes: "This Lord Reay seems to have been a good man and to have taken part in the war from a conviction of its importance to the cause of Protestantism. But his people were as yet rude and irreligious ... From their intercourse with Christians abroad, they returned to their own country Christianized, enlightened men; and from this is to be dated the high religious character which the Reay district has so long maintained."[8]

With the reign of Gustavus Adolphus II (1611-1632) came a period of religious toleration in Sweden. Assurance was given to those of other confessions that they were welcome in the country as long as they practised their worship quietly. And it was stated that the authorities could in no wise rule over a man's conscience, which statement was to prove a helpful loophole in years to come. Calvinists could worship as they would, and even Russian Orthodoxy was permitted. The Roman Catholics were the exception, for they were still hated and feared. Swedish students who went abroad to study were forbidden to attend

Polish Catholic or Jesuit schools; and no Papist could visit Sweden without risk of his life. The abdication of Queen Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus II in 1654, due in great part to Catholicism, along with the visit of the vocal DesCartes to Stockholm in 1649-1650, "Caused a strong wave of anti-Catholicism."[9]

As a result, the orthodox group within the church began to tighten controls and came out against any outsiders whatsoever. In 1663, a bill was passed warning church officials to see to it that, "Nothing might creep into the congregations or other places of teaching that could in any way destroy our Christian doctrine or the peace and unity of God's congregation."[10] In the same year, a special statute was passed that forbade the importation of books that might contain any heresy. In 1672, Carl IX got a law passed stating that citizenship in Sweden meant Lutheran belief, and foreigners of other faiths living in the country must bring their children up as Lutherans. In 1686 this law became general for all citizens and it held until 1766. Perhaps the most stringent of the several laws passed at this time was that in which it was stated that all Swedish citizens must worship only according to the evangelical Lutheran faith as it was described by the Augsburg Confession.

Failure to do so incurred not only exile from the land, but also forfeiture of all rights and inheritances in the land. Such restrictions of personal religious freedom seem to us to be incredibly stern and binding, but they were not looked upon as such by the Swedish people whom they affected. They saw these laws as a necessary defence to insure the purity and unity of the church. It was taken for granted that the clergy would take in hand the religious education, discipline and spiritual well-being of the people, which they did. Moreover,

they also expected that the government would stand behind the clergy in this by maintaining the church. However, when a law was passed requiring that all the work of the university professors should be turned into the Chancellory teaching staff for inspection, indignation arose in the intellectual circles. The ensuing hue and cry was so great that this particular ruling had to be greatly modified.

While the church authorities were busy passing all these laws to keep out any non-orthodox-Lutheran ideas which could threaten church unity and influence the minds of the flock, others were truly working to build the Christian faith within the hearts and minds of the people. Not all the clerics felt that the end aim of the church was to cause all within it to think alike - that proper laws and intellect alone should lead the church. Two of these men were Jacob Boethius, pastor at Mora from 1693 and Jesper Svedberg, preacher at the court of Carl IX and later bishop of Skara. Boethius felt himself called to be a prophet, to speak out against the suppression of the people because of the Riksdag statements made in 1693. He wrote two sharp articles for which he was imprisoned until 1710. After this, for eight years he spoke out against the irreligious lives of some of his fellow pastors, and preached for a holy way of life for all Christians. In his zeal for holiness and by his expressions of a pietistic type of thought, "Boethius heralded the religious demands of Pietism."[11]

Jesper Svedberg criticized the orthodox intellectualism and legalism in the church. His thoughts were Bible-centered. He was well acquainted with Lewis Bayly's Practice of Piety and Browne Willis' The Whole Duty of Man - both read in the English Puritan circles. But Svedberg had no liking for the religious freedom of the individual. His great interest was in the education and edification of the people. He

wrote: "A right and piously instituted catechetical examination edifies much more than ten sermons. During the sermons which are, for the most part strange (that is, in learned terms), many sit with other thoughts, know and retain little, and return home in the same way they came. But this is not so with pious and edifying catechetical examinations."[12]

The lives of the people at this time were bound up in the small rural communities where they lived, worked and had their social life. The majority of them were illiterate; and lawlessness, immorality and carelessness were rife. And the church authorities felt it their duty to do something about it. Education was taken on by all the clergy and as Bibles were not generally available, Luther's Shorter Catechism was used as a text. Catechetical instruction and examinations were held on a regular basis by the pastor in the homes. In between his visits, the head of the household was expected to hold weekly examinations of his family as well as of all those who worked in his household. The significance of these household gatherings for examination cannot be overstated, for they were the method, along with the Bible teaching and exposition, by which the people not only gained a knowledge of the Scriptures, but learned to read and write. These small meetings in the homes have come to be regarded as, "The footprints in which the coming conventicles of Pietism trod."[13]

Earlier in the century three men, all of them Calvinists, made their impact on Lutheran Sweden. The first of these was Louis deGeer, a Dutch Walloon and an industrial leader through whose influence several hundred Belgian families settled in Sweden. He established foundries in many parts of the country and controlled much of the commerce of the land. As a result, he is frequently spoken of as the "Founder of

Sweden's important industrial enterprises."[14] But deGeer was also interested in both the church and in education and was a generous supporter in these areas. And because of these interests, he was influential in bringing the other two men to Swedish shores.

The first of these two was John Durie, a Scotsman and a cousin of Andrew Melville, and who came to Sweden in 1635. Durie's great project during his life was to "Secure the inter-communion and cooperation of the Evangelical Churches in the north and west of Europe."[15] He labored for this project from 1628 until his death in 1680. During this time, Gustavus Adolphus II was probably his strongest supporter. But this support ceased with the king's death at Lutzen in 1632. By the time Durie arrived in Sweden, he was already well-known to both Axel Oxenstierna, Chancellor and confidential advisor to the king, and to Johannes Matthiae, and he came bearing letters of introduction from the archbishops of both Canterbury and St. Andrews. He was well-received by the theologians in Uppsala and by Bishop Rudbeckius in Västerås. But they did not welcome his ideas of communion with evangelicals having differing thoughts on doctrine. He was severely examined by a meeting of churchmen in Stockholm not only on his ideas of union, but also concerning his own faith, which was highly suspect. His ideas were rejected and he was advised to leave. But he had made a strong impact on many who heard him.

The other man was John Amos Comenius, the great Moravian bishop and educator. DeGeer had heard of Comenius' educational genius, probably through Durie, and invited him to come to Sweden. He agreed to pay Comenius generously, and also any men he might need to help him with his work. Comenius accepted and arrived in Norrköping in 1642 where he was offered the post of "Reformer of the Swedish National School

System."[16] The fact that Comenius was a Calvinist must have caused much consternation, but the anti-Calvinist bishops of Sweden wanted Comenius' knowledge and genius for their schools so much that they did an amazing thing. They literally disclaimed knowledge of Comenius' Calvinism, and conveniently entitled him a Hussite - thereby making him acceptable.

Much of Comenius' influence in Sweden was made through Johannes Matthiae, former Latin tutor of Queen Christina. Matthiae counselled with Comenius concerning the organization of the Swedish Church, and later used many of his ideas to make improvements. As Bishop of the Unity of the Brethren, Comenius was drawn into the work of conciliating the churches on the continent. But it was obvious, almost from the outset that neither Catholics, Lutherans nor Reformed churches were willing to conciliate. Moreover, such open interest in the Catholics or the Calvinists did not endear him to the Swedish Lutherans. Finally some of his opponents in Sweden publicly denounced him as a crypto-Calvinist and the Bishop of Skara preached a sermon in which he strongly denounced Calvinism, and named Comenius as a "contaminating influence".[17] So as soon as Comenius completed his educational project for the Swedes, he returned to Leszno in Poland to resume his duties as Bishop of the Unity in 1648.

NEW INFLUENCES AND THE BEGINNING OF CHANGE

Pietism

Spener and Franke - the "Gradual Infiltration"; Leaders Elias Wolker, Eric Tolstadius, and Nils Grubb; Return of the Carolinians; The Position of the Church - Archbishop Eric Benzelius; Edict of 1726 - The Conventicle Act; Radical Pietism - Conrad Dippel, Edict of 1735, Sven Rosén; Bishop Herman Schröder; Peter Murbeck and Andreas Tengbom.

All during these years, there existed a group of non-orthodox men in the church of Sweden who were of a mystic nature. In 1640, some literature had appeared which bore a distinct "Jesus blood and wounds" theology. This encouraged the soul to lose itself in Christ's suffering, and so rest in Him as its rock of salvation. The preaching of these men began to reflect this thought and so encouraged their listeners to inner piety. At the same time, it offered a sharp criticism of what they considered to be dead orthodoxy. By 1644 Bayly's Praxis Pietatis had been translated into Swedish, and in 1647 a translation from a German Lutheran devotional book had appeared - Johann Arndt's True Christianity (Fyra Böcker om en Sann Kristendom). Largely through this book, medieval and Jesuit mysticism was brought into Swedish ecclesiastical thinking. It contained much of Thomas å Kempis and Bernhard's writings, but all within the framework of a correct Lutheranism.

Little by little new movements began to stream into Sweden from the continent, and by 1680 a conservative Pietism was known. And it is known that in 1677 the rector of the German School in Stockholm, J. Upperdorf was familiar with the teachings of Spener and his "ecclesia in ecclesiola". The pastor of the German church in Stockholm had sympathies for the conventicle idea. Evidently his sympathies were shared by the members of his congregation for when, in 1689, a vacancy

occurred in this pastorate, the call was tendered to Spener. He declined.

This incidentally, was not Spener's first contact with Sweden. In 1686 he became court minister in Dresden where he became acquainted with Anna Sophia, sister of Ulrika Eleanora, Queen of Sweden. In 1688 he sent the queen one of his new writings, Die Evangelische Glaubenslehre. He also wrote her a number of other letters, but the extent of his influence is not really known. What is known is that Ulrika Eleanora "herself was filled with a more sincere, personally understood piety."[18] From then on, she began to gather about her a circle of friends with these same interests.

At the same time, several other well-known and influential Swedes came into contact with Pietism. Two of these were Dr. Urban Hjärne, a well-known physician, and his friend Erik Odhelius (called Odelstierna). They had heard and accepted some of Spener's and Franke's reform ideas, and in Dresden, in 1690 they first heard the term "Pietist". Daniel Djurberg, a professor of theology at Uppsala from 1698 to 1736 met Spener on a visit to Dresden and accepted much of his thinking, and after his return, his teaching was strongly marked by it. Others too had visited Franke in Halle, and the list of pietistic thinkers in Sweden began to grow.

Conventicles now existed in Sweden. The earliest known one, about the year 1689, consisted of a small group of friends of Friedrich Rochman, a barber's apprentice in Stockholm, and they gathered regularly for Bible reading and prayer. And they were known to the clergy. A letter from the churchman, Kyrkoherde Johan Vultejus on Riddarholmen in 1693 states that "by this time, Pietism had quietly found a foothold in the

capital city."[19] But while these conventicles were discussed among the churchmen, not much was done about them, as they were not then seen as any real threat to the church and its teachings.

In 1694 the first Swedish student enrolled at Halle - one Gustaf Granatenhielm. By the end of that year, thirteen Swedes had enrolled, and it is certain that they brought the ideas of Pietism back to Sweden with them. In 1693, archbishop Eric Benzelius himself visited Halle and from that time on spoke of Pietism with great consideration.

But before long, the clergy began to grow restless, and fear of this new thinking troubled them to the point of action. In addition to the 1686 ruling against all other beliefs, controls were now placed on foreign travel to help uphold that ruling. Foreigners with other beliefs were still permitted to come to Sweden and to practice their own religions as long as they did so quietly and didn't annoy anyone else by it. In 1687 a French-German church was founded in Stockholm whose first pastor was Nicolaus Bergius. This was a Calvinistic group and they didn't stick too closely to the rules. This encouraged the few Roman Catholics still living there to begin to practice openly, which quickly caused the church to sit up and take notice. Things had now gone too far! As a result, the clergy in 1693 opened process to pass judgment on some seventy persons, and heavy fines were inflicted. Some of these fines were cancelled because of the intervention of Holland, whose request for mercy for these people even included a plea for religious freedom in Sweden. Then some local pastors sent a petition to the king to try to ease the matter, but got nowhere. In order to protect themselves against further legislation or action, the Calvinists joined forces with English fellow believers and placed themselves under the protection of the English minister and held their

services of worship at his palace on Södermalm. The Catholics and Jews fared worse, and were later forbidden to enter the land, "As scorners of Jesus Christ and His church."[20] An edict was passed in 1696 which stated that Jews, Turks, Moors and heathens who did enter the kingdom would incur great risk to themselves - especially if they would try to seek instruction in the Christian faith, and followed that by Christian baptism. They were not to be trusted. This fear of "the heathen" was felt not only by clergy, but also by the laity. Well-known to both were these words from a Psalm by Luther:

"Preserve us Lord in your Word
Cast down the murders by Pope and Turk
Which Jesus Christ, your dear Son
Would crush from His throne."[21]

In spite of all the attempts of the church to force the people to keep to a strict orthodoxy, a new wave of Pietism came and swept over the land beginning in 1700. And its gate of entry was Karlskrona. In that year, two German students, Johan Werner Pause and Johan Schade, students at Halle came to Karlskrona in southern Sweden to work there as tutors. As such, they came into contact with several homes in the town. While Pause kept school, Schade visited the homes where he read the Bible and prayed, and also organized conventicles in the German congregation there. They represented a moderate Halle pietism. Before long, the pastor of the German church, who saw in these two interlopers a threat, saw to it, with the help of the local pastor, that they were deported. They were soon replaced with two other students, but they too were forced to leave.

In Stockholm too, Pietism had gained a firm foothold. The earliest information is found in a letter to Franke in 1702 from Elias Wolker

(1660-1733) who is considered Sweden's first lay preacher and the central figure among the Pietists at the time, asking for support in a country where "A follower of Christ was considered a strange animal or a foolish creature."[22] Wolker had been in daily contact with Andreas Kock, a student who had returned from a stay at Halle. Because of this connection, Wolker felt free to write to Franke, seeking ties for his small group with the power center in Halle. This small circle of friends met Wednesday and Friday evenings to sing a psalm and to read, explain and discuss a chapter of the Bible. The little group grew, with Kock as leader. More students arrived from Halle to help, but it wasn't long before the church authorities became aware of them. In April of 1703 they were brought before the authorities for questioning, and in spite of their logical defense, they lost the case and were forbidden to meet. A letter to Halle in 1705 says that the group still existed. And then an unusual thing happened - the group received a follower who was a member of the Swedish clergy - Petrus Dahlberg. He was a Franke-influenced man who in 1704 had become the Queen's chaplain. He was the first clergyman known in Sweden to become a Pietist.

Pietism now began to show up elsewhere in Sweden, and although its progress was slow, it can now be considered to have become a real movement within the church. At its heart were the conventicles - the meeting of small groups of friends who came together in the evening to read the Bible, to listen to readings of pietistic writings and to pray. Many experienced a new spiritual birth and so sought spiritual satisfaction at a much deeper level than before - in a more true and intense way. For them, it was in these conventicles rather than in the church that they found the warm spiritual nourishment that they needed.

In Gothenberg, many people began to send their children to Halle for their education and as can be expected, they returned with pietistic-influenced thinking. Others were heard of in Karlshamn and in Västerås. In many places where it sprang up, it was quickly driven out by the stern and almost fanatical Johann Mayer, a bitter enemy of Franke. Mayer had the ear of the king, and with this influence, many edicts against Pietism now were issued. He told the king that he considered the Pietists to be fanatics, who under a pretence of Godliness desecrated the clear Lutheran religion and overthrew its holy foundations. Mayer actually harmed himself seriously by his bitter writings, but somehow managed to keep in the good graces of the king. His accusations were answered by Conrad Dippel, who went to extremes himself, and pictured orthodoxy as "A whore in the pillory!"[23] Then Franke decided to come to Sweden himself. He had an audience with the king and made such a good impression that the king's own confessor, Malmberg, made a visit to Halle - and later reported that he could find no fault there.

For many years now, Sweden had been at war with many of the European countries. In 1709 Carl XII suffered a great defeat in Poltava and Sweden found itself in a great general crisis. The people were generally impoverished by enforced contributions to the wars. The heavy drain on the man-power of the nation had brought industry almost to a stand-still and agricultural production to a new low. There was widespread discontent among all the classes and suffering throughout the lower classes. As so often happens in times of suffering and discontent, many turned to religion. This, as can be expected, greatly favored the growth of Pietism.

By 1710 many pastors were won over to this new thinking, and brought to this conservative Pietism the orthodox Lutheran influence. One of these was Nils Grubb, a former student in Halle who became a pastor in Umeå. He preached conversion in his church and formed conventicles in his home, and through his labors, Pietism began to spread in northern Sweden. The Pietists in Stockholm under Wolker also continued to grow in number. He organized conventicles in his home and members of those groups wrote poems and songs which were published in 1717, 1720 and 1724 - without the consent of the Consistorium. Some kind (or careless) censor had pssed them.

In 1722 the movement received a fresh, strong impetus when the soldiers, taken as prisoners during the thirty years of war began to return home from imprisonment in Russia following the many wars of the Carolinians. While in Tobolsk, a Captain vonWreech had obtained and read some of Franke's writings. He had then written to Franke who had, in return, sent Bibles, Testaments, song books, tracts and money to the prisoners. As a result, many of them had been converted to Pietism, and when they returned to their homes in various parts of Sweden, they brought their Pietism with them. They met together in small groups where they could. They read the Bible together, and with a deep and sincere piety sought to live their lives according to the example our Lord had set therein. At the same time, they worshipped regularly at the local church - it was never their intent to separate from it.

In 1723 Erik Tolstadius, a pastor in the Skeppsholm congregation in Stockholm came to the fore as a pietistic preacher and was even considered by some to be Sweden's Franke. At this time, the usually hidden opposition between the old orthodoxy and the new pietistic thinking broke out into open conflict. Tolstadius, as leader of the

Pietists clearly delineated the decline of the Church and called for a deputation of the Riksdag to look into the business of the Church. That indignation ran high within the church hierarchy is understandable. But the Church now could no longer ignore this movement within its own house and ranks.

The forces of the Church were led by archbishop Eric Benzelius, who with far superior political agility was able to parry all the thrusts of the Pietists. But just at this time, intervening national political problems arose and so occupied the time of the Riksdag and the Estates that the whole problem of the Pietists was, for a time, forced into the background. Although this gained for them some breathing space, the earlier edicts forbidding any religions other than orthodox Lutheranism had not been forgotten and were frequently recalled and enforced. So, while Pietism had received a severe blow, it was far from dead. Conventicles still continued to meet, and the battle continued to rage - sometimes silently, sometimes not.

Finally, on the 12 January, 1726, thanks to the influence of Anders Horn, president of the Chancellory, a brilliant statesman, and a former Pietist whose loyalty to Pietism could not withstand the political pressures, the notorious Conventicle Edict (Konventikelplakatet) was issued. Conventicles, carefully and unmistakeably defined, were forbidden and heavy fines listed for any who either organized or attended such a gathering. At the same time, the clergy were instructed to care for their flocks by holding periods of instruction and examinations in the homes concerning the catechism and the weekly sermon at church. An obvious effect of this edict was that it furthered the isolation of the Church. And the effect of its refusal to recognize any new ideas could only have been stultifying. However, in the

Conventicle Edict, orthodoxy won a great victory over Pietism and can be said to be the point at which orthodoxy in the Swedish church reached its zenith. So it, together with the death of Franke in the same year proved to be a deadly blow to Swedish Pietism.

The arrival of Pietism in Sweden and its subsequent rise as a true religious movement was more than just a protest against the strict orthodoxy of the Church. It was a "Protest in favor of the rights and duties of the individual, and in defence of a truer conception of faith, and of an emphasis on the need of hope and love in the church as a whole."[24] In it could be found some of the puritanism of England as well as some of the later evangelical concepts in that country. Pleijel says: "Lutheran Pietism had many roots. It could relate to the rational strain which is found in Melancthon's theology as well as in orthodox theology, including pre-Reformation piety which was marked by Augustinian-Bernhardian mysticism, and conveyed to the evangelical Christianity through prayer books and edifying tracts such as those by Johann Arndt."[25] The early Pietism in Sweden was the quiet, irenic Pietism of Spener and mainly called for conventicles for Bible reading and prayer, some participation of the laymen in the life of the church, and for the education of the clergy in practical piety and edifying preaching. It also called for the preaching of a religion of the heart, and sought a warm Christian fellowship that knew no denominational bounds. Men were either converted or unconverted; and many rules were made for the sanctification of the converted. Worldly pleasures must be denied. Life was to be an earnest, sober discipleship of true piety as well as one of works of mercy and evangelism. But there was no thought whatsoever of separation from the Church. Church attendance was considered important and therefore urged. Later

on when Franke became leader of the movement in Germany, Pietism took on a more aggressive nature. He asserted that, "A true Christian must experience a sudden, agonizing religious crisis followed by an immediate knowledge which could define its time and place."[26] From then on, Halle Pietism took on a strong legalistic character, which soon found its way to Swedish shores.

Since the crushing of Pietism by the Conventicle Edict of 1726, many new mystical writings had been coming into Sweden from Halle, now under the leadership of Gotthilf August, Franke's son. A large number of the persecuted Pietists quickly embraced this new form of piety and an aggressive, radical type of Pietism began to grow. The early leader of this new movement was Johann Conrad Dippel, a German physician and theologian who had been imprisoned for seven years in Denmark for political intrigue. Dippel visited Sweden from 1726 to 1728, during which time he quickly became known as a powerful adversary of orthodoxy. His fiery writings and out-spoken condemnation of the clergy had a strong appeal for the people. As a result, his followers soon showed an open hostility to the clergy. Some would even stand up in the middle of a Sunday sermon in the church and call the minister a liar! But in the end, Dippel went too far. His teachings on justification and sanctification - he maintained that they were one and the same thing - caused a tremendous upheaval not only in the Church, but in the old conservative pietistic circles.

So again the clergy banded together, and in 1735 another edict was issued, more stern even than the previous one. It permitted fines to be imposed upon those who were merely rumored to have any religious thoughts which deviated from orthodoxy. Before long, reports were coming from all directions, and a minor inquisition was in progress.

Fortunately, many of the clergy remained true to their pietistic thinking and that, together with new ideas from the Enlightenment coming from the continent - many of which were embraced by the theological faculty in Uppsala - helped relax the stern laws.

Dippel had caused so much trouble during his short visit to Stockholm that before the end of his second year there he was deported. However, his radical ideas remained and spread, while the old conservative pietistic circles slowly withdrew. They had completely lost faith in the old uniform religion of the state Church and had even given up the great hope for the church's reform. It seemed to them that the Church had become "A veritable Babel - ready for destruction along with that world whose interests it shared."[27]

Now within the new radical circles, a strong apocalyptic feeling arose. Early on, they had seen King Carl XII with his amazing victories on European battlefields as a new Messiah who would establish the thousand-year Kingdom on Earth. Then this changed. The simple and the poor were to become the chosen of God to save Christendom. Apocalyptic literature was popular, dreams and visions were usual, and enthusiastic singing became their specialty. The greatest leader of Radical Pietism was Sven Rosén. During his student days in Uppsala, he had been won over to the philosophy of Liebnitz and vonWolff, leaders of the Enlightenment in Germany. After leaving Uppsala, he was caught up in the religious circles in Stockholm and there experienced a momentous conversion, after which he gave up his plan for an academic career and gave himself over to a religious life. At first, he attached himself to Tolstadius. But before long, he joined the radical groups and soon assumed a position of leadership in them. He continued this leadership for a decade, writing prolifically all the while. He was a mystic and spent many

hours in contemplation. He and some of his close associates were reported for being suspected of wrong religious thinking and after a long legal procedure, he was exiled in 1741. His departure became the death-blow for radical Pietism.

In the meantime, some of the fires of the old conservative Pietism had continued to burn quietly in a few hearts. Between 1730 and 1740 these banked fires began to come to life. Many of the ministers who had previously preached Pietism openly had had to return to impeccable orthodoxy, but their sermons were infused with their pietistic spirit, keeping alive its ideals and principles. Bishop Herman Schröder of Kalmar was the first of these men to begin to speak openly again. He had kept in touch with Halle because of his great interest in missions. Because of this, he aroused interest in his own See in missions, raising money to help support a Swedish-born missionary who went to India under the sponsorship of Halle. This was a young Swede named Kiernander. He had gone to India as a missionary to the Danish-Halle mission at Cuddalore, and later moved to Calcutta, where he labored for twenty-eight years, thus becoming the first Protestant missionary to that city. Schröder spoke to the Riksdag in 1731, urging them to forward missions in their colonies; and also included reports of missionary work in India when the Riksdag was to consider forming an East India Company. Because of this, Schröder is considered a pioneer of missionary thought in Sweden. As a result of his efforts, he gained much respect from the Riksdag. Even the Church authorities began to look upon him with special favor. But in spite of this, the Swedish Church still took no real interest in missionary work but continued rather to interest itself chiefly with its internal problems and struggles.

During this decennium, two pietistic revivals broke out - one in Karlskrona in southern Sweden, and the other in Främmestad in Västergötland further north. Peter Murbeck, a fiery preacher led the movement in the south and Andreas Tengbom was leader in the north. Large groups of people literally streamed into their churches to hear them, much to the annoyance of the orthodox men. But many true conversions took place and lives were changed in all walks of life. The Cathedral Chapter in the south finally called in Murbeck for questioning, and in 1741 he was suspended - not on grounds of error, but as a consequence of what were considered to be shortcomings in his official duties. So his work came to an end for several years, until the suspension was lifted in 1746. The revival in Främmestad had quite a different ending. Soon after it had begun, a group of radical Pietists moved in and Tengbom found himself in a strenuous struggle with them. Then, at what was a crucial moment, the irenic tidings of Herrenhutism sounded in the town, putting an end to the arguments and struggles.

Herrnhutism

> Carl Henrik Grundelstierna and early Contacts; Zinzendorf's visit to Sweden; Diaspora Workers; Tolerance Edict of 1741; The Great Pioneers of the 1740's - Thore Odhelius, Elias Östergren and Arvid Gradin; Problems from 1745-1752; The Final Decades of the Century.

This brings us to the second great religious movement - one with a strong missionary emphasis - to come to Sweden during the eighteenth century - Herrnhutism. It claims the 13 August, 1722 as its date of birth at Hutberg, a hill which was on the land owned by Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in Saxony. There he, together with a handful of the Moravian Brethren - the "Remnant" or "Hidden Seed" of

the ancient Unitas Fratrum from Bohemia and Moravia - formed a congregation which was "baptized by the Holy Spirit Himself to one love ... a day of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the congregation. It was its Pentecost."[28] Like Pietism, Herrnhutism was a religion of the heart. Its followers felt that this was the common ground in all Christian denominations. Lewis states: "This became a fundamental conception ... Zinzendorf's world-wide view of religion ... This heart-to-heart or personal and intimate devotion to Jesus Christ and to all who acknowledge him as Saviour rose above all the barriers of creed, forms of worship and ecclesiastical organization : it was instantly recognized by all men in every place who shared in it; and it was a meeting ground of all Christians and of all churches."[29]

Therefore, their first goal was that of the unity of all Christians, regardless of denomination. According to Zinzendorf, the mission of the Pilgrim - a term he frequently used - was, "To awaken the slumbering Christians in the different churches and more effectively clothe them, if they can, in their several religious habits as Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists or Moravians."[30]

The second goal was that of mission, for to be a Christian was, "To act upon the simple truth that to be a Christian is to be involved in a mission to the whole world."[31] Consequently, a tremendous missionary activity resulted, and the people of Herrnhut "Became the vital leaven of European Protestantism."[32]

Present in Herrnhut on their Foundation Day in 1727 was a young Swedish nobleman, Carl Henrik Grundelstierna. He was a Pietist and a member of the close circle of friends which gathered around Tolstadius in Stockholm, and he was filled with a great zeal to win souls. He had

earlier become acquainted with Zinzendorf while on a study tour in Saxony and had visited him in Herrnhut in the spring of that year. After a third visit to Herrnhut in December of 1727, during which he related to Zinzendorf the religious conditions in Stockholm, Zinzendorf opened a correspondence with Eric Tolstadius. When Grundelstierna returned to Sweden in 1729, he began to work for the ideas of the Brethren. Moving within the circles of the popular radical Pietism of the time, he met with little success in his promotion of the ideals of Herrnhut. First of all, according to reports, he lacked sufficient talent and energy for the job. Secondly, Zinzendorf had, in his earlier correspondence written stern warnings against Dippel's extreme views which were just then so eagerly accepted in Stockholm. That scarcely made Zinzendorf's views popular. So when, in 1731 the first of the "Brothers" from Herrnhut arrived in Stockholm, they were able to accomplish very little. In 1734 a second pair arrived there on their way to Lapland as missionaries. They remained in Stockholm for several months, using their time to try to explain their beliefs.

In 1735 Zinzendorf himself made a visit to Sweden. He had heard of the renewed activity of the Pietists under the leadership of Peter Murbeck in Malmö, and it was into their midst he came, to bring his teaching of God's free grace. But even this great man made little impression on the legalistic Swedish Pietists. He paid a call on Bishop Rydelius in Lund and they had several conversations in which Zinzendorf spoke of his ideas on reconciliation and God's free grace, but there is no indication that they reached any agreement on anything. And after only one week, Zinzendorf left Sweden.

One after another, "Diaspora Workers" from Herrnhut came and went in Sweden, all bringing their message of God reconciling men to Himself

through Christ's death, and the following decennium brought their first success. They were undoubtedly helped by the fact that for several years there had been many attempts at broadening tolerance in the country, especially in the matter of religious freedom. The interest of the government to promote industry and foreign trade to raise the economic standard helped provide a favorable climate. If Swedish Lutherans in England, it was argued, were free to practice their religion there, then Englishmen should receive the same courtesy of religious freedom in Sweden. The Clergy Estate responded to this suggestion with an outright "no". But they were outvoted. In August of 1741 a decree was issued, permitting freedom of religion to any who were of the English and Reformed churches. "Thereby those of the Reformed thinking had received a secure position in Sweden. An important stage on the road toward religious tolerance had been accomplished."[33]

Three men in particular, all Swedes, may be said to be the real pioneers of Herrnhutism in Sweden. They were Thore Odhelius, Elias Östergren and Arvid Gradin.

The first of these, Thore Odhelius, had earlier become a strong separatist, following the mystical ideas of Dippel. But he had never completely forsaken his discipleship under the tuition of Tolstadius. On a visit in 1738 to Lithuania, he came into contact with a revival in the circle of Brethren from Herrnhut living there, and experienced a deep religious change in his life. According to his own statement, "I know not what else to say except that Mercy happened to me."[34]

Upon his return to Stockholm the following year, he began to preach with great zeal his new belief in the peace and joy to be received in

the confession of sin, and trust in the Lamb of God whose blood had been shed for the sins of mankind. God's grace was freely available to all who truly sought. Most desired of was the sense of freedom which each one who asked, received from Christ, through His work of salvation and reconciliation. Odhelius wrote: "With Him is calm, peace and joy and a glorious victory, which no law or morality can ever give."[35] Odhelius' preaching was of such power, that people flocked to hear him and many were won over to this new thinking - not the least of whom were many of Stockholm's clergy. So great became his following that a new party within the church was actually formed, calling themselves "Odhelianerna", and were considered to be ranged against "Tolstadianerna" - the followers of Tolstadius. Because of this, the Herrnhutters found anti-pietistic orthodox churchmen aligning themselves with their group - an added bonus! As a preacher, Odhelius was considered to be one of the most outstanding of the time, so it is little wonder that his following grew so rapidly.

Elias Östergren visited Herrnhut in 1738 where he too had a deep religious experience. He returned to Stockholm in 1740, having travelled first through Västergötland, where in Främmestad his preaching had begun a revival movement, both in the heart of the above-mentioned pastor Andreas Tengbom and in the congregation. The influence of Ostergren was so great in Västergötland that many former members of the congregations who had become separatists were brought back into the fold of the Church.

After leaving this area, Östergren made a three-month visit in Stockholm and Uppsala. In Uppsala, he discovered that Zinzendorf's "Berlinische Reden" had won great recognition and that many of the professors there were much in agreement with it. Concerning this, he

wrote: "It wants only workers for the whole country to be captivated ... Our net is full, it is impossible for us to pull it ashore alone, come and help us."[36] He then departed on a tour to Gothenburg, Skara and again to Västergötland to preach to the extreme separatist Pietists. Many of them were to renounce their separatist views and become reconciled to the Church.

In the spring of 1741 he and a friend, Olof Björn left Stockholm for Lapland, where they preached to the Lapps for two years. Following that, Östergren went on to Trondhjem and Kristiania in Norway, remaining there for a few years. Björn, a carpenter from Västerås spent some time in London where, for a time he was a part of Zinzendorf's Fetter Lane Society, along with John Wesley and Peter Böhler.

Concerning Arvid Gradin, Jacobsson writes: "Of all Swedish Herrnhutters before 1750, Arvid Gradin is indisputably the most important - as much by reason of knowledge and talent as by piety of heart, burning zeal and self-sacrifice for the community of Brethren - in various countries and many various appointments."[37] And together with Odhelius and Östergren, he is considered the founder of Herrnhutism in Sweden.

As a student in Uppsala in 1727, he aligned himself with the more warm-hearted orthodox group. Then, joining his friends on their trips to Stockholm to hear the preaching of Tolstadius and other Pietists, he was gradually won over into that movement. With the coming of rationalism and natural theology from Germany, he soon joined the ranks of those who held to the Liebnitz-Wolff philosophy. Next he came under the influence of Dippel's writings, and by 1733 was wholly involved with that group in Stockholm. But with all this vacillation, he found

no inner peace, and was by now fairly disillusioned with all these groups. In 1735 he came across Christian David's book telling of the community in Herrnhut and was so moved by it, he decided that he too should adopt their principles. As a result, in April of 1738 he found himself in Herrnhut, "With a warm longing in the heart for the salvation of my poor soul, and with much emotion in the heart and with thanks."[38] Before the first day was over, he was deep in discussion with the brothers concerning their views on free grace and justification. During the following days he prayed much for guidance and mercy from God, and sought help from the brothers till he finally experienced a real conversion in both heart and mind. He wrote then to his friends in Uppsala that he had decided to remain with the Brethren for the rest of his life.

In August of 1738 Gradin met John Wesley at Herrnhut during the latter's short visit there, and related to him the story of his conversion which Wesley noted in his Journal, dated 12 August, 1738. In September, he met Zinzendorf who was on a secret visit to Herrnhut from his exile in Marienborn. As a result of that meeting, Gradin went to Herrnhaag, Zinzendorf's home, to become tutor to his son. He also taught in the Brethren's Seminary in Marienborn, Seminarius Theologicum Augustana Confessionis, and became so immersed in the congregation that he renewed his decision to remain there for all time. It was, incidentally, just at this time that Sven Rosen, exiled leader of the radical Pietists in Stockholm arrived in Marienborn. He became so strongly influenced by Gradin and Herrnhutism that in December of 1743 he became a member of the congregation in Marienborn. His letters therefrom to old friends in Sweden had "A significant influence in aid of Herrnhutism there."[39]

In the meantime, the small groups of Brethren in Sweden were having a hard time of it and in 1741 wrote to Zinzendorf asking for help. It was only natural that Gradin was chosen, along with Martin Dober as an official deputation to visit the archbishop and the theological faculty in Uppsala in October of that year. Both the archbishop and the theological faculty were impressed and well-pleased with Gradin's letter from the bishops of the Brethren and could find no fault with their statements of belief. As a result, he was invited to preach many times, and many were to seek forgiveness of sin and to find salvation through "The Blood of the Lamb". In November he founded the first society of the Brethren in Stockholm, consisting of several small circles of brothers who had been meeting together for Bible discussion, prayer, singing and study of Herrnhut literature. Odhelius and another minister, Johan Holmberg were the leaders of these groups. The most remarkable thing about them was that they were founded with the full approval of the Swedish clergy, who could see in these conventicles nothing contrary to the church laws.

For the next few months, Gradin travelled extensively in Sweden, beginning in his home town of Vika in Dalarna, proceeding to Västmanland, Västergötland, and finally arriving in Gothenburg in March of 1742. He preached in many towns and many revivals began. Finally, on the 16th day of May he sailed for "home" - via a tour to Bergen in Norway and then to Amsterdam, arriving in Marienborn in July.

Herrnhutism continued to grow in Sweden, particularly in Stockholm and in Västergötland. Odhelius continued to preach in Stockholm with Holmberg as his helper, and by November of 1743, ten local preachers had joined them. Many new groups came into existence, all around Lake Mälar and as far west as Västerås. Before long, there were small

groups all over central Sweden. In Västergötland, the aforementioned Andreas Tengbom of Främmestad had become the leader of the movement. A flood of literature, translated from the German was distributed and eagerly read. Johan Holmberg was the driving force behind this effort and it was also through his interest that a songbook, Sions Sånger was published. This songbook became immensely popular and was given credit for the salvation of many souls. "Sions Songs alone had converted many thousand souls in the country who never knew one letter of Tolstadius or Odhelius, even less about the Herrnhut congregation."[40]

By 1745 the Herrnhut movement was strong in many parts of Sweden. When Gradin returned to Marienborn in 1742, he had reported that there were less than one hundred ministers in Sweden who could be called "devoted" to Herrnhutism. But by 1750, there were some 3,200 to be found in all parts of the country. During the 1750's, the movement spread mostly through the western part of Skane in southern Sweden. The next decade saw it moving eastward and northward throughout the province, and within ten years it was firmly grounded in the entire area.

During the years of 1745 to 1752, a severe crisis arose within the Herrnhut groups because of fanatics coming from Germany, causing many problems among them. As had happened with earlier groups, the leaders were exiled from Sweden. This by no means caused the death of the groups - their spirit was too strong. During the following years they re-grouped and by 1760 more revivals broke out and Herrnhutism spread still further through the land, even infiltrating into the church itself. It continued to burn as a strong movement - sometimes to the point of fanaticism - and can be considered as great a movement as Pietism in Sweden.

In the remaining decades of the century, many strong preachers of the movement were heard in many parts of the country - Johannes Nicolaus Sundius in Allerum; Anders Carl Rutstrom, Erland Fredrik Hjärne and Christian Gotthelf Ike in Stockholm; Daniel Grau in Västerås; Olof Strandberg in Närke; and Anders Hillestrom and Peter Arfvidsson in Gothenburg - to name a few. But even with these and other powerful preachers, there never seemed to be any one central figure to hold it together. Any real leadership seemed only to come from any visiting diaspora workers from Herrnhut.

Both Pietism and Herrnhutism served to effect a marked change in the lives of a large number of the Swedes. As many of the orthodox clergy were won over to these movements, their preaching changed. Their sermons were no longer learned lectures aimed at raising the morality of the people, but rather were directed to the individual as a challenge to work out a hard-won, personal Christianity. The art of rhetoric was discarded and sermons were delivered in the simple speech of the people, vastly enriched by the strong colloquialisms of the day. Thereby they "created a form of popular preaching which has continued to the present day."[41] Dogmatically, however, they remained firmly on orthodox ground. "In Herrnhutism's Christocentric preaching of salvation one saw in general - even in orthodox quarters - an attempt to make the most fundamental teaching of faith in Lutheran dogma a reality in practical daily piety."[42] But in every other line of thought - stress on redemption as an individual experience, demand for a personal decision, and tolerance toward other religious groups - they revealed their Pietistic and/or Herrnhutistic leanings. These people thus became committed to a new and better way of life, striving for the perfection of the life of Christ. They showed a great zeal

for the religious education and care of their children. They visited and helped both the poor and the sick, and they constantly encouraged each other for mutual edification. By the end of the century, evangelism and revivals in their midst - which for many years had been going on in a quiet, almost hidden way - increased and drastically changed the character of the religious life which had become "More Church free".[43]

Emmanuel Swedenborg and Carl von Linné

Two men who fit into neither of the above movements, nor even in the Enlightenment-influenced orthodox church - and nor were they clergymen - but who exercised an amazing influence over the religious lives of many Swedish people were Emmanuel Swedenborg and Carl von Linné.

Emmanuel Swedenborg, perhaps the more striking figure of the two was born in 1688, son of the aforementioned Jesper Svedberg, Bishop of Skara. From early youth, he was interested in the natural sciences and his studies in that field out-distanced his religious studies. As a young man, he was most certainly influenced by both radical Pietism and Herrnhutism. Then a lengthy visit to England brought him into contact with the thinking of both Newton and Locke and with Cambridge Platonism. In 1729 he wrote Vera Demonstratio Evangelica in which he attacked the prevailing orthodoxy of the Swedish Church. Many of his ideas seemed to coincide with those of Conrad Dippel, and he was strongly attracted to Dippel's mysticism and beliefs in the supernatural. Regardless of any previous religious experience, Swedenborg himself considers the year 1743 (at which time he was fifty-five years of age) as the date of the beginning of his spiritual sight, and began at that time to believe he had some special spiritual calling from God - an amazing

change from a life which had been devoted to science and mathematics. He told a friend many years later, "I, for my own part had never expected to come into that spiritual state in which I am now; but the Lord selected me for this work, and for revealing the spiritual meaning of the sacred Scriptures, which He had promised in the prophets and in the book of Revelation. My purpose previously had been to explore nature, chemistry and the sciences of mining and anatomy."[44] During the next few years, he experienced many dreams and visions, many of which he at first doubted himself. But gradually he was convinced that these were from God and their directions became his calling.

In London, in April of 1745, Swedenborg had a vision which proved to be the decisive factor which shaped his views for the rest of his life. He had a vision of the Lord God who revealed to him that, "He had chosen me to explain to men the spiritual sense of the Scripture and that He Himself would explain to me what I should write on this subject."[45] And from that time on, he considered himself to be "Admitted to intercourse with angels and spirits, speaking with them as man with man."[46] In June of 1747 he resigned his job on the Royal Board of Mines in order to devote himself to his new work and not be distracted by worldly concerns, and to become a religious preacher, called of God.

He then began the writing of his voluminous religious works which show the development of his thinking and ideals. He considered the Bible to be divine and the highest authority for his expositions. Yet he set up a canon of his own, disregarding those books he felt were not truly spiritual. Everything that existed emanated from God and existed solely through Him. Swedenborg's view of the Godhead was unitarian. Christ was not the son of God, but was God himself who, after the creation took

on the form of man. The Holy Spirit was Godly truth and power emanating from God the Saviour. He considered sin not to be a willful desertion of God by man, but to be man's love for the world and himself to the extent that he forgot his heavenly origin. There was no need for atonement - with the help of God, man could battle his sinful desires and gradually lift his soul upwards through a continuing moral renewal until the soul would be united with the deity.

As a religion, Swedenborgianism never had a very great impact on the religious life in Sweden, although Pleijel, the most careful of Swedish church historians gives it greater scope than any other. It came first to Gothenberg through a Greek language lecturer, Gabriel Andersson Beyer. From there it spread northward into Västergötland where it caught on among some of the former radical Pietists. Swedenborg's differences with the orthodox views on reconciliation and his mysticism held a strong appeal for the former followers of the Dippelian persuasion. By the middle of the 1770's some of these groups enjoyed visions, shaking, crying and wailing. A group of the Herrnhutters also joined in with them, and even Andreas Knös, a strong orthodox churchman and educator in Skara was influenced by this thinking. But Swedenborgianism never received enough followers in Sweden to be rated as a movement, and no Swedenborgian society was actually recognized in Sweden until 1885. The movement had, in fact, a larger following in England where it was accepted by various members of Methodist, Quaker and Church of England congregations. So it is strangely interesting to note that although Swedenborg's followers were relatively small in number, his writings and spiritualism became so widely known.

Swedenborg's contemporary, Carl von Linné was first a botanist, but from the beginning a man with a strong sense of calling that God had

chosen him to appear in his time to interpret nature. He felt that the laws of nature would show the "Direct way to knowledge of her creator's majesty, omnipotence, omniscience and mercy."[47] He found no conflict between his ideas and Biblical revelation, and thought that a true knowledge of nature could only support one's belief in God. He wrote, in the opening sentences of his book "Systema Naturae": 'I saw the back of the Infinite, all-wise and all-mighty God as He went from me ... and I was appalled. I traced out His footsteps over the field of nature, and I remarked at every extremity of it an infinite wisdom and power. I saw there how all animals are nourished by plants, plants by the earth, how the earth-ball is turned night and day round the sun, which gave it life, how the sun with the planets and the fixed stars are held up in their empty nothing by the motive and director of universal existence, of all causation, this world's Lord and Master. If one should call Him 'Fate' one is not wrong for all things hang on His finger. If one should call Him 'Nature' one is not wrong, for from Him all things have come. If one should call Him 'Providence' one speaks rightly too, for all things are done according to His will and pleasure."[48]

It was as professor at Uppsala University that von Linné became known, and from all over the world students flocked to hear his lectures and to accompany him on his botanical expeditions. His new principles of taxonomy became world famous. In his lectures, he would easily "Reconcile truth and knowledge, Christian revelation and empirical research."[49] Through these lectures and his discussions on hygienic and economic questions, he influenced many young men who were later to become the clergymen of the land. The fact that in later years vicarages often became large farms and gained such central significance in the parishes

was largely due to the influence of Linné's teachings in the belief in the religious and ethical character of natural sciences. And because of his teaching to thousands of students throughout the years, many of whom became clergymen, trained in botany and horticulture, which knowledge they passed on to the peasants in their parishes, Linné's influence was far more wide-spread and valuable than that of Swedenborg. This could only result in good, if Linné were, as Wordsworth claims, "A warm-hearted, joyous and reverent man of science, surrounded by loving pupils and a happy family, and looking with mingled awe and gladness at the footprints of the Creator in the field of nature."[50]

The Close of the Century

> Reign of Gustavus III; Tolerance and the Edict of 1781; Cultural Growth - Societies and Academies; Problems of State; Election of Crown Prince Carl Johan Bernadotte; the Enlightenment and Secularization in the Church; Defensive Orthodoxy - Jacob Serenius, Pehr Tolleson, Samuel Wiesel; Societas Svecana pro Fide et Christianismo; Henric Schartau.

The latter third of the century was one of political strife and unrest in Sweden, filled with foreign intrigue and continual wars, draining the country of both money and man-power. The rich nobility were dissatisfied, having been deprived of their power by the king, Gustavus III, who came to the throne in 1772. He had had a French education and was a pupil of the rationalistic school which had spread to Scandinavia from England, France and Germany. He initiated many reforms - such as the abolition of torture, freedom of the press, and even attempted to deal with the overwhelming problem of drunkenness in the country.

He was also interested in religion. As a product of the French Enlightenment, he was a moderate, and preferred the old uniformity within the church so that all would be taught and believe the same thing. He

requested revisions of the Bible, Psalm Book, Liturgy and the Handbook. But there was so much argument about it all among the churchmen, and it was all re-worked so many times that it dragged on way past the turn of the century. However, "This work was the enlightened theologians most outstanding contribution"[51] of the time. The king's liberalism showed itself in the Edict of Tolerance issued in 1781, whereby within the framework of the Church, all foreigners could have full freedom of conscience. They could believe what they wished and practice that religion. In 1782, Jews were given freedom for their religion and were given permission to build synagogues in three Swedish cities - Stockholm, Gothenburg and Norrköping. The only restriction of any importance placed upon these people was that they were not permitted to hold state office or membership in the Riksdag. Then in 1784 a great concession indeed was made - the first Roman Catholic Mass in many years was said. However, the restriction was placed upon the Catholics that they were not allowed to make any new converts.

While this period may have been politically dark, it produced great advancement in many areas of knowledge. Science, art, literature, law and justice made great strides, and the formation of societies and academies blossomed. Much earlier in 1739 the Academy of Science had been founded by von Linné the botanist, Anders Celsius the astronomer and Torberg Bergmen the chemist. The Academy of Letters had been organized in 1753. But now came a new rush of cultural groups. The Academy of Music was founded in 1771, the Royal Swedish Opera in 1773 and the Swedish Academy in 1786 - all to which the king lent his support. His reign with all its advances, in spite of the fact that personally Gustavus III was known as vain, frivolous, profligate and even deceitful had ushered in, "What has been justly called the period of Neology."[52]

The hatred of the nobility for this king increased when he made himself absolute monarch in 1789. He was assassinated in 1792 and his son was crowned King Gustav IV Adolph. He did little to distinguish himself, except to embroil Sweden hopelessly in wars and intrigues with Russia, Denmark and France. His countrymen became so disgusted with his ineptitude that they deposed him in 1809 and his uncle, already an old man with no children was elected king and crowned Carl XIII. Then came a stroke of good fortune for the beleaguered country. In searching for a crown prince, a young lieutenant, Baron Karl Otto Morner forwarded the name of one of Napoleon's most successful generals, Marshall Jean Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. Surprisingly, the Council accepted this unusual candidacy. Bernadotte too accepted - not hesitating to renounce his Roman Catholicism to become a Lutheran, and in short time he was elected Crown Prince Carl Johan on the 21 August, 1810. From that time on, Sweden's fortunes began to change and one of the darkest periods of its history began to wane.

These many years of troubles were bound to have their effect upon the Church, and the middle and late years of the century produced little advance - especially within the orthodox circles. Secularization grew at an alarming rate, and in some cities on the Sabbath the clamor of "business as usual" as well as that of noisy sports in the streets was so disruptive during church services that police patrols were called in to suppress the troublemakers and in some instances, even to divert traffic from the surrounding roads. Contempt for any religion was popular among the educated youth, and the Church blamed this in large part on the influence of the French Enlightenment.

The Church itself was a victim of this malady. A large number of the clergy had turned to a more modern view of their office. For the most part, they had accepted that, "The true church was the invisible church, whose goal was ethical : to promote love among mankind. The educational, dogmatic-confessional and institutional, on the other hand, was not a part of the nature of the true church."[53] The modern churchman believed that his duty was to influence the morals of the people so that they might become good and upright citizens. They must be left to think freely. Then, because of the close correlation between religion, state and morals, men's understanding would become progressively enlightened. Moreover, "The minister committed himself to spread the truth in a way that would agree with the laws of the state."[54] Further, at a meeting of the clergy in Västerås See, Bishop Troilius directed the ministers to "Teach the law of the land."[55] As a result, many Sunday sermons were little more than political speeches. In fact, some clergymen became completely disinterested in their offices - to such an extent that their lack of Godliness was reported in the local newspapers. Also, because of the prevailing mood of tolerance, much of the earlier zeal against Pietism and Herrnhutism had dwindled, although sporadic attempts were made to preserve the uniformity and purity of the Church by some churchmen who remained loyal. And in some of the more remote country villages where some of the deep-rooted old superstitions still existed, trials for witchcraft were known as late as 1757.

But not all the clergy were affected. Some of the old orthodoxy still existed and the Church itself could be said to have taken a defensive stand against the onslaught of the divergent influences from so many directions. Much of the old pietistic influence still existed, and

most of the preachers of any note were of this ilk. Others truly strove to keep the old orthodoxy alive. Jacob Serenius, Bishop of Strångnäs from 1763 was one of the outstanding men in this group. During his earlier years as a clergyman, he had been active in the religio-political areas. But now he sought to reform the church from within and keep it pure from the secularization of the day. Pehr Tolleson preached great revival sermons in the Riddarholm Church in Stockholm during the 1770's and 1780's. Amazingly, the new learning and secularization did not penetrate into some of the more isolated areas. Here the ministers continued pretty much in the old orthodox way. One such area was the parish of Vislanda in Småland, to whose pastor, Samuel Wiesel, "Pietists and Herrnhutters were as unknown in his house as they were in China."[56]

In the far north the numbers of "Readers" (Läsare) were growing rapidly. These were people who gathered themselves into small conventicles to read the Bible, the sermons of Luther and postils of other writers. The groups usually formed following revivals and on the whole did much good. Some, however, moved into the areas of fanaticism, the people falling into trances or convulsions. This practice had actually begun in the middle of the eighteenth century following the arrival of the Brethren from Herrnhut and the term "Läsare" came into general use for all, in all parts of the country who attended such groups. And among them, secularization had little effect.

While this period gave rise to many secular societies and academies, the church had a significant counterpart in the new "Societas Svecana pro Fide et Christianismo". A Swedish minister, Dr. Carl Magnus Wrangel was its founder. During his travels in North America and England he had met and been inspired by two great revival preachers,

H. M. Muhlenberg and George Whitefield. On his return trip to Sweden from America, he met John Wesley in England, whom he greatly admired, and there learned about the British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was perhaps with this in mind that upon his return home to Stockholm he set about to found his new society. Its purpose was to "Set foremost the Word of Jesus Christ and salvation through Him ... On such a basis the Society wished to obtain an edifying, living preaching within the Swedish Church."[57] Beginning with thirteen founding members - all clergymen except one - its membership grew within the first year to seventy-six members in Sweden and twenty-eight members in other countries. At first, they published many small pamphlets, "To awaken and strengthen within the members of the Church a Christian faith and confession as well as communicating sound knowledge."[58]

The particular interest and second goal of the society was the Christian education of both children and adults. By 1777 two Catechetical schools had been founded in Stockholm and by the end of the century there were five in all. Concern was expressed for the youth throughout the land, and in 1798 notices were sent to parish schools throughout the country urging them to follow suit in catechetical training. The new schools led to a need for books - another project which the society gladly took in hand. A revision of Luther's Catechism was planned and teaching methods were discussed. The work of this society in both material and methods was original and avant-garde, effective to a great degree and it continued for many years.

After the turn of the century, the State Church remained pretty much the same. The Hand Book and Catechism were finally completed under the direction of Archbishop Uno von Troil, a learned historian, and Jacob Axelsson Lindblom, Bishop of Linköping. Neology deepened,

following the patterns of Samuel Ödmann, a professor of theology at Uppsala. He was a naturalist, a pupil of von Linne and exercised a great influence on his students.

But of all the preachers of the time, Henrik Schartau of Lund was without question the most remarkable. He was raised in a Godly home, educated in Lund University and was ordained a minister in the Church at the age of twenty-three. During his early years he was strongly influenced by both Pietism and Herrnhutism, but he never joined with either group. While he agreed with most of the teachings of the latter, he reacted strongly against their emotionalism. He believed the same Gospel, but, "It was their way of presenting and applying the Gospel which he disliked. Not only did they lack correctives for the abuse of grace ... but he considered that at times they actually evoked grace, or even fostered it."[59] He felt rather that the established Church was better equipped to offer the people a true and deep Christianity, free from the emotional excesses of the revivalists and the "Läsare".

His own conversion had occurred during a communion service during which he recognized his own acute state of sinfulness and need of forgiveness. Then, according to his own words, he "Was even granted the grace to receive the pronounced forgiveness according to Jesus' word, Jesus' promise and Jesus' assurance, based on the atonement of His own blood and confirmed in the Holy Communion with His offer of atonement."[60] This assurance of forgiveness and salvation was to remain with him and colcr his preaching for the rest of his life, providing him with the self-assurance and dignity for his office as well as the gentle humility and caring ministry so necessary for a true shepherd.

He was a purely orthodox churchman, in the true traditional sense of orthodox Lutheranism. He did not belong to the circles of the new, enlightened and moderate orthodoxy, as it was understood in that day. In fact, it was against just such "Orthodoxy that the orthodox Schartau struggled most of all."[61] His preaching was powerful, strong and spiritual, and he looked upon his vocation as "His great business of saving souls."[62] People thronged to hear him from all around Lund - peasants, burghers, and both students and professors from the university. He spent much time in counselling his parishioners who came to him with their problems, sure of a hearing, and equally many hours catechizing which, according to Wordsworth was one of his strongest points. He compares him and his influence to his contemporary, Charles Simeon at Cambridge. But from all accounts, Schartau seems to have been, at the turn of the century and for several years after, a deep and thirst-quenching well of spiritual water in the seemingly dry desert of the orthodox church in Sweden.

As the new century moved forward into its first decade, the old style of unified parish life in the country began to break down, due in part to an increase in population and in part to people-shifting - due to industrialization. The Parish system, local customs and old folk ways and lore began slowly to disappear. The Church, as has been said, was on the defensive. Many new foreign ideas, chiefly from Germany, were flooding the universities, especially in philosophy and theology. The foremost problem in theology seemed to be, "Between an enlightened Christendom and a Christian Enlightenment."[63] From England came the "Entrepreneurs in 'praxis pietatis'"[64] who only helped to widen the gap between the orthodox Church and the many groups seeking both a deeper spiritual life and a religious freedom, which was growing in

importance. There were intermittent revivals which broke out in various areas from north to south, but the only ones of any lasting effect seemed to be Schartauism in the south, and a deepening old Conservative Pietism growing in the far north. Other than that, the first decade of the new century found the religious state in Sweden to have an arid spiritual atmosphere in the orthodox Church; a Pietism, for the most part become dry and legalized; and a number of Herrnhut Brethren, warding off as best they could a growth of fanaticism. And no where could be found any real interest in taking the Gospel to heathen lands. So with no real central, strong leadership, there was really only a conglomeration - all striving to promote their own particular brand of thinking. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand that no interest in missions had entered the Church. It, as well as all the fragmented groups was too self-centered with little thought for others. Fortunately the new century would bring solutions, not only from within Sweden itself, but also through impulses from over the seas.

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4. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.265.

5. Ibid., p.275.

6. Ibid., p.260.

7. Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, Scots in Sweden, Edinburgh, 1962, p.15.

8. James Lumsden, Sweden : It's Religious State and Prospects, London, 1855, p.80.

9. Berndt Gustafsson, Svensk Kyrkohistoria, Uppsala, 1959, p.103.

10. Hilding Pleijel, Karolinsk kyrkofromhet, pietism och Herrnhutism, 1690-1772, Svenska Kyrkans Historia, Vol. V, Uppsala, 1935, p.13. "Att icke något uti församlingarne eller andre lärostäder sig insmyger, så antingen vår kristelige läro eller Guds församlings frid och enighet på något sätt kan förstöra."

11. Ibid., p.150. "Förebådade Boethius pietismens religiösa krav."

12. Hilding Pleijel, Konventikelplakatets Tillkomst och Historiska Innebord, in Hilding Pleijel, Erland Sundstrom, Oscar Lövgren, Olof Thulin, Martin Gidlund, Lars Österlin, På Stugmötenas Tid, Stockholm, 1959, p.18. "Ett rätt och gudeliga anstallt catechismi-förhör uppbygger väl mer än tio predikningar. Uti predikningarne, som merendels konstigt (d.v.s. med lärda termer) hållas, sitta många med främmande tankar, kunna och litet behålla och gå så gode hem som dit. Men med catechismi gudeliga och uppbyggliga förhör icke så."

13. Ibid. "Konventiklar bildades i dess spår."

14. Andrew A. Stomberg, op. cit., p.338.

15. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.291.

16. Matthew Spinka, John Amos Comenius, Chicago, 1943, p.95.

17. Ibid., p.107.

18. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.158. "Hon själv var fylld av en mera innerlig, personligt fattad fromhet."

19. Ibid., p.161. "Pietismen vid denna tid i det tysta fått fotfäste inom huvudstaden."

20. Ibid., p.170. "Sasom Kristi namns och forsamlings försmädare."

21. Ibid. "Bevara oss Gud i din ord, Slå ned påvens och turkens mörd, som Jesus Krist din Kära Son nederslå vilja av hans tron."

22. Berndt Gustafsson, op. cit., p.120. "Kristi efterföljare måtte passera för ett underligt djur och ett däraktig kreatur."

23. Ibid. "En hora vid skampålen."

24. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.317.

25. Hilding Pleijel, Konventikelplakarets Tillkomst och Historiska Innebörd, p.22. "Den lutherska pietismen har flera rötter. Den kunde anknyta till det rationella drag, som fanns i Melancthons och ortodoxiens teologi. Den upptog den förreformatoriska, av augustinsk-bernhardinsk mystik präglade fromhet, som genom bönböcker och uppbyggelseskrifter, ej minst Johann Arndts, förmedlats till den evangeliska kristenheten."

26. Ibid., p.23. "En rätt Kristen måste erfara en plötslig, ångestbetonad religiös krisstämning med efterföljande omedelbar visshet, som kunde bestämmas till tid och rum."

27. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.329. "Ett sannskyldigt Babel, färdigt att förgås samman med den värld vars intresse den delat."

28. A. J. Lewis, Zinzendorf - the Ecumenical Pioneer, London, 1962, p.59.

29. Ibid., p.27.

30. Ibid., p.118.

31. Ibid., p.61.

32. R. A. Knox, Enthusiasm, A Chapter in the History of Religion, Oxford, 1950, p.390.

33. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.416. "Därmed hade de reformerta i Sverige erhållit en tryggad ställning. En viktig etapp på vägen mot religiös tolerans var tillryggalagd."

34. Nils Jacobsson, Den Svenska Herrnhutismens Uppkomst, (Bidrag till de Religiösa Rörelsernas Historia i Sverige under 1700 talet), Uppsala, 1908, p.138. "Jag vet intet annat att säga än mig är barmhärtighet vederfaren."

35. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.422. "Hos honom är ro, frid och glädje och en härlig seger, som ingen lag eller moral någonsin giva kan."

36. Nils Jacobsson, op. cit., p.170. "Det fattas blott arbetare, så vore hela landet snart intaget ... Vårt nät är fullt, vi kunna omöjligen ensamma draga det i land, kom och hjälp oss!"

37. Ibid., p.104. "Av alla svenska herrnhutare före 1750 är Arvid Gradin utan gensägelse den mest betydande, såväl på grund av lärdom och begåvning, som genom hjärtefromhet, brinnande nit och offervillighet för brödraförsamlings sak - i olika länder och på många olika poster."

38. Ibid., p.114. "Med hjärtlig längtan efter min arma själs frälsning och med mycken hjärtats rörelse och tack."

39. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.444. "Ett betydande inflytande till förmån för herrnhutismen."

40. Ibid., p.446. "Sions Sånger ensamma omvänt många tusen själar i riket, som aldrig vetat en bokstav af Tolstadii och Odhelii, mindre av herrnhutiska församlingen."

41. Ibid., p.372. "De skapade därmed en folklig predikoform, som levat kvar ända in i vår egen tid."

42. Ernst Newman, Gemenskaps och Frihetssträvanden i Svenskt Fromhets liv, 1809-1855, Lund, 1939, p.21. "I herrnhutismens kristocentriska frälsningsförkunnelse såg man i allmänhet även på ortodoxt håll ett försök att göra den lutherska dogmatikens mest fundamentala troslära till en realitet i det praktiska fromhetslivet."

43. Berndt Gustafsson, op. cit., p.173. "En mera krykofri karaktär."

44. George Trobridge, A Life of Emmanuel Swedenborg, London, 1920, p.99.

45. Ibid., p.109.

46. Ibid., p.99.

47. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.526. "Raka vägen till kunskap om hennes skapares majestät, allmakt, allvetenhet och barmhärtighet."

48. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.328.

49. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.526. "... förena tro och vetande, kristen uppenbarelse och impirisk forskning."

50. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.348.

51. Berndt Gustafsson, op. cit., p.164. "Detta är upplysningsteologernas främsta kyrkohistoriska insats."

52. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.349.

53. Sven Goransson, Folkrepresentation och Kyrka, 1809-1847, Uppsala, 1959, p.6. "Den sanna kyrkan var den osynliga kyrkan, dess ändamål var moralistik; att befrämja kärleken mellan människorna. Det läromässiga, dogmatiskt-konfessionella och institutionalistiska tillhörde däremot icke den sanna kyrkans väsen."

54. Ibid., p.9. "Prästen förpliktade sig att sprida sanningen på ett sätt som stod tillsammans met statens lager."

55. Hilding Pleijel, op. cit., p.538. "Undervisa i regeringslagarna."

56. Ibid., p.533. "Pietister och Herrnhutare voro i hans hus lika okände som i Kina!"

57. Sven Nilsson, Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo, Stockholm, 1921, p.14. "Sätta främst av allt ordet om Jesus Kristus och Frälsningen genom honom ... På sådan grund ville samfundet få fram en uppbygglig, levande förkunnelse inom den svenska kyrkan."

58. Ibid., p.14. "Hos kyrkans medlemmar väcka och starka kristlig tro och bekännelse samt meddela god kunskap."

59. H. Hagglund, Henric Schartau : Till Hundraårsminnet, Stockholm, 1924, p.46. "Det var sättet att framställa och tillämpa evangeliet som han ogillade. Där ej blott saknades korrektiv mot nådens missbruk ... men han ansåg att man stundom rent av framkallade eller omhuldade detta."

60. Ibid., p.22. "Jag fick ock nåd att taga emot den afkunnade förlåtelsen såsom Jesu ord, Jesu löfte, Jesu försäkran grundad på Hans egen blodiga försoning och bekräftad i Hans Nattvard med sjelfva försoningsoffret."

61. Ibid., p.54. "- mot ortodoxien den ortodoxe Schartau framför allt förde sin kamp."

62. John Wordsworth, op. cit., p.364.

63. Gunnar Westin, George Scott och hans Verksamhet i Sverige, Stockholm, 1929, p.2. "Mellan en upplyst kristendom och en kristen upplysning."

64. Ibid. "Företagare i praxis pietatis."

CHAPTER III

TWO MISSIONARIES COME TO SWEDEN

A. WORK IN DENMARK

1. Rise of Haldane Congregationalism in Scotland

   Formation of the Congregational Church; Disapprobation of the National Church; the Theological Seminary.

2. Congregational Missions

   Philosophy of Missions; Ordination of Two Missionaries for India - John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson; Arrival in Denmark and the Decision to Remain.

3. Ministry in Copenhagen and Elsinore

   Preaching; Tract Distribution; Language Study and Teaching; John Campbell and Contact with the Religious Tract Society; Danish Evangelical Society; Bibles for Iceland; First Contacts with the British and Foreign Bible Society.

4. War with Denmark and the Escape of the Missionaries to Sweden

B. WORK IN SWEDEN

1. The New Country

   The Political Situation; Morality; Country Life; Nationalism and Mysticism among the Educated.

2. The Ministry of Ebenezer Henderson

   Gothenburg and the English Chapel; Tract Distribution; Tour of Northern Sweden and Finland; Results of Tract Distribution; Promotion of Bible Societies; Influence for Evangelicalism and Missions - Carl Frederick av Wingård and Cornelius Rahmn; Financial Problems; Founding of a Congregational Church; Departure from Sweden.

3. The Ministry of John Paterson

   Impressions and Decision to work in Stockholm; Rev. Stählin and the Moravian Brethren; Religion in Stockholm; Founding of the Evangelical Society; Tract Publication and Distribution; Significance and Effects of the Tracts; Other work; End of Support from Scotland; the Swedish Bible; Problem with Society Pro Fide et Christianismo; Printing of Old and New Testaments; Problem of the Apocrypha; Reports to London; The Icelandic Bible; The Lapp Bible; The Swedish Bible Published; A Work Completed - a New Work Awaiting.

Rise of Haldane Congregationalism in Scotland

Formation of the Congregational Church; Disapprobation of the National Church; the Theological Seminary.

When Robert Haldane, frustrated in his hopes to go to India as a missionary returned to Scotland, he found there ample outlet for his desire to serve God. He gave much of his time and a large amount of his money for the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home. As part of this work, he rented in July of 1798 the "Circus" - a large auditorium in Edinburgh, which was to be used solely for undenominational evangelism. This would serve well as a pulpit for his brother James and other visiting preachers. There was at this point no intent whatsoever of setting up any new denomination. But in December of that year, Greville Ewing, who had been itinerating for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home for some time along with his duties in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, withdrew from the National Church. Soon those who were active in the work of the Circus decided to follow suit. They formed themselves into a church, adopting the form of church government known as Congregationalism, and James Haldane became its first pastor. Robert Haldane then purchased the Circus for their use.

It wasn't long before similar churches began to form, and many Sunday Schools were started for both children and adults. The congregation at the Circus built a church which they called, "The Tabernacle" and soon after that, a second chapel was formed. The cause of missions, both at home and to the far-away heathen was zealously pursued, sparked by Mr. Ewing's great interest. Not only had he been active in the

formation of the Edinburgh Missionary Society in 1796 and been its first secretary, but he had fostered great interest throughout all Scotland in missions through his Missionary Magazine, begun in that year.

The rapidly growing movement now caught the attention of the National Church. People were literally flocking to these new churches. Their spirits were captivated by the evangelical preaching, and the joy and enthusiasm in the meetings were much to their liking. This, together with reports of great crowds attending the Congregationalists' Sunday Schools became a cause for alarm to the National Church, and as a result severe steps were taken at the General Assembly of May 1799. The first was that livings of the Church were closed to all but its own licentiates. The second was that it prohibited "Ministers of this Church, ... from employing to preach upon any occasion, or to dispense any of the ordinances of the Gospel, ... persons who are not qualified, according to the laws of this Church, of a presentation, and from holding ministerial communion in any other manner with such persons."[1] This excluded then not only the separatists, but also the clergy of the Church of England.

At the same time, a paper was drawn up called Pastoral Admonition, which all ministers were instructed to read from their pulpits. In it, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home was specifically named as an organization that was revolutionary and atheistical and possibly covered a secret democracy and anarchy. This was particularly effective at this time when the public lived in daily fear of a coming invasion by Napoleon and the French Army. But the accusation was soon thereafter accepted as false due to a paper published by Robert Haldane denying all charges.

In spite of this, the National Church continued with its attack on the Congregationalists. The Pastoral Admonition was also sent to the sheriffs of the counties and to the chief magistrates of all the burghs. An appeal was even sent to the Home Secretary. The Duke of Atholl, strongly on the side of the National Church, sent a letter to the Lord Advocate suggesting that an Act of Parliament was in order to stop the enthusiastic, seditious preachers and missionaries who were surely arousing the people to the point of overthrowing their loyalty and principles. Such an Act was not forthcoming.

The Associate Synod was also opposed to the new movement and passed resolutions against lay preaching, saying it had no warrant from the Word of God. They also warned their people against the Sunday Schools - they did not teach correct Christian principles.

In spite of all this opposition, the Congregational churches grew in size and number. And this growth gave rise to a new problem - the new churches needed ministers. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home too needed more ministers for its increasing evangelistic ventures. And this problem in turn revealed the need for theological seminaries in which to train the ministers. Again Robert Haldane rose to the occasion with both funds and organizational ability. A school was begun in Edinburgh in 1799, followed shortly by two more - one in Glasgow and one in Dundee. But by 1804 the three were consolidated into one school in Edinburgh. These schools were entirely maintained by Mr. Haldane - the students' lodgings, education and books, as well as medical attention were paid by him. He even gave each student in excess of twenty-four pounds per year for their own use. "It is computed that the seminary must have cost him upwards of £20,000."[2] (This would have been for the entire life of the seminary.)

Philosophy of Missions; Ordination of Two Missionaries for India - John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson; Arrival in Denmark and the Decision to Remain There.

It was to this Congregational theological school that two young men, John Paterson of Duntocher near Glasgow and Ebenezer Henderson of Dunfermline had come to train as ministers. Mr. Paterson had been ordained and was a minister of the Congregational Church in Cambuslang and Mr. Henderson was still a student at the Seminary when a call for two missionaries was issued in 1805 by the two Congregational churches now existing in Edinburgh. These churches, considering it to be more like the New Testament churches to send out missionaries directly from, and at the expense of the individual congregations rather than through missionary societies, decided to find two young men and send them to India. To make this official, they passed a resolution which was published in the Missionary Magazine. It read: "The formation of a Missionary Society seems to imply a deficiency in the constitution of a church of Christ, as if it were not competent for such to use all the means necessary for spreading the Gospel. But in the New Testament, we read of missions sent out by the churches, and we hear of no other societies engaged in the work. Paul and Barnabas were sent out to the heathen by the church at Antioch. The churches were commanded to receive the brethren thus employed, and to bring them forward, on their journey after a Godly sort, III John 6:10."[3] How wrong this decision was to prove will later be seen. They then called upon all who were willing to devote themselves to the work to come forward, and announced that funds necessary for their work would be received through collections, subscriptions and donations.

Mr. Paterson and Mr. Henderson stepped forward to accept this challenge. They were duly accepted and ordained by prayer and the laying on of hands to this work on 27 August, 1805 at the Tabernacle in Edinburgh. The exact location in India for this mission was not yet decided, so they planned to go first to Serampore and discuss the matter with William Carey. Because they were not allowed passage on any of the ships of the East India Company, they booked passage to Denmark, hoping there to obtain passage on a ship of the Danish East India Company and thus land at a Danish settlement in India. So, filled with hope and great expectation they set out for Denmark, on the same day as their ordination. They landed in Elsinore on Friday, 13 September, 1805, and proceeded the next day to Copenhagen where they met John Dickie, a Scottish merchant, to whom they carried introductions. They then set out to arrange for their passage to India, but in this they were unsuccessful. Only one ship was due to sail before winter set in, and there was no room for them on it. They offered to go steerage, but that too was full. Then they offered to sleep on the deck, but this the captain absolutely refused. As a result, they had no choice but to spend the winter in Copenhagen, for the moment a very disappointing change in plans. This information was immediately transmitted to Edinburgh.

Ministry in Copenhagen and Elsinore

> Preaching; Tract Distribution; Language Study and Teaching; John Campbell and Contact with the Religious Tract Society; Danish Evangelical Society; Bibles for Iceland; First Contacts with the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Not willing to waste precious time, the two men set about to assess their situation and to make plans. As they walked about the streets of Copenhagen, they saw a city of people much in need of the Gospel and

felt convinced that there was as much need for a missionary in Copenhagen as in India. In a second letter to Edinburgh they wrote: "Before we left Scotland, we were given to understand that the Danes were a very religious people; but from what we have seen and heard, they are the very reverse. We do not suppose that there are any people that pay less attention to religion ... The Sabbath is scarcely known here; the most of the merchanics are at work, and nearly all the shops are open. Those who do not chuse to work, devote the day to pleasure ... None appear to us to be caring for the concerns of their souls; nay, their conduct declares that they do not believe that they are immortal creatures, or that there is any hereafter."[4]

A reply from Edinburgh to these letters was quickly forthcoming, assuring the men of continued support and of the churches' willingness that they should remain in Copenhagen over the winter, and to try to carry on the work of Christian missions there. On 25 December, 1805, they wrote to their missionaries saying: "We have been strongly persuaded that for the present at least, the Lord calls for your labours in that part of the world where you now are placed ... To us, nothing appears more clear than that the service in which you are now engaged ought not to be abandoned, nor the door closed which the Lord has opened."[5] And in another letter which followed shortly thereafter they wrote: "We pity the inhabitants of Bengal or Otaheite because they worship idols, but what better are Europeans who worship NO God?"[6]

So the two missionaries settled in and began to make plans. The first item on their agenda was to provide services on Sunday for the large English-speaking population in Copenhagen. Through the help of Mr. Dickie, they met a young Englishman who offered his home for this

purpose, and on their second Sunday in that city, they preached to a fair number of their countrymen. At the end of October Mr. Paterson wrote, telling of this and of successive services: "The most of the English people to whom it was mentioned that we designed to preach laughed at the idea and some of them were very much against it. Being confident that the work was the Lord's, we went forward, not doubting but He would prosper it. The first day we met publicly in the large elegant room we had obtained for the purpose, only 13 attended; next day there were about 40 and yesterday about 100. Among all these, there were not above three or four poor looking people; there were many of the first people in the place, and several naval officers. We never preached to a more attentive congregation; they all seemed to be struck with the solemnity of the worship, and some heard with tears in their eyes. What the result may be we know not, but we have no doubt that the Lord will bless his own Word for the salvation of many in this place."[7]

After a few weeks, feeling this service now to be well established, they began to think of providing a similar service for the many English people living in Elsinore. There was an English chapel there, and a clergyman to serve it; but the chapel had been closed because of insoluble differences between the minister and the congregation. Because of this, the two men decided not to avail themselves of the chapel, but rather hired a hall for the purpose. By the second week of November, the arrangements were completed and after that Sunday, they preached there every Sunday as well as in Copenhagen. For a while they divided this task between them, so that when one was to preach in Copenhagen, the other would preach in Elsinore. Because of the time wasted in so much travel back and forth, it was eventually decided that

Mr. Henderson would remain in Elsinore and Mr. Paterson in Copenhagen, exchanging pulpits occasionally.

Their next task was to reach the Danes themselves with the Gospel. Because they didn't know the language, this would have to be done through the medium of tracts. Again, Mr. Dickie came to their help. He introduced them to the editor and publisher of a local newspaper who knew English well. Through his help, the tract, The One Thing Needful was translated into Danish and published. Most of their time during the following week was used in walking about and handing these tracts to everyone they met. This in turn drew much attention to themselves, and the natural curiosity of the people brought many to hear them. Their small congregation soon swelled and so they now needed and found a large hall for their Sunday services. They also set about having more tracts translated and published. All this was evidently well-received by the Danes in general. On 14 May, 1806 they wrote: "So far as we know, scarce one has dared to lift a lip against us in the way of defamation. Our conduct is so much out of the beaten track, that they seem to be at a loss what to think of us, or on what principle to account for our acting as we do; yet the worst that they have said of us is, that we are METHODISTS!"[8]

At the same time, they set about to study and learn the Danish language. They also began to give lessons in English, by which means they hoped to help support themselves. In this they were successful to the extent that they were able to meet their own expenses until the time they began to receive support from the British and Foreign Bible Society.

At the end of 1805, Mr. Paterson received a letter from John Campbell (who was now working with the Religious Tract Society, which he had helped found) which Mr. Paterson claimed, "Marks out, by a kind of prophetic spiri

a great part of the field we afterwards occupied."[9] First, Mr. Campbell asked him if he might not be able to establish a Tract Society in Denmark, suggesting that the Tract Society in London might be able to help them. He then posed a long series of questions: "Are Danish Bibles scarce in Denmark, or in any particular part of Denmark? Are there any institutions for propagating the knowledge of Christ in any shape? Are there any itinerants in the darkest parts? Any means used for the religious instruction of youth? Are there many benevolent institutions? What is the state of religion in Norway? Are Bibles scarce there? Would Danish tracts be understood there? ... Have you any information respecting Sweden, Lapland or Poland?"[10] As can be seen in many later letters from both Mr. Paterson and Mr. Henderson, faithful attempts were made to answer all these questions. During the next few years, they made long and difficult journeys for this purpose throughout all of Scandinavia. Their total commitment to this as the will of God can be realized in a letter from Mr. Paterson in which he wrote: "... The events which have taken place in the course of it (the past year) are truly marvelous in our eyes - events which we trust, by the divine blessing, will tend to the promotion of the Kingdom of the glorified and compassionate Redeemer. What reason have we to be grateful for the Lord's kindness to us during that period. He has truly done great things for us, whereof we are glad. In His providence, He has placed us in the midst of strangers, who have treated us with distinguished marks of kindness, among whom He has raised up for us many affectionate and sincere friends. He has opened a door of usefulness to us, which we trust will not be shut, but will, on the contrary, we hope, become daily wider and more effectual ... If we, on our part, be more faithful and diligent, we cannot doubt, that the Lord will shew

Himself to be faithful, in making His word by our means more successful."[11]

Also through John Campbell, the two missionaries made some of their most important contacts in Denmark. Through him and Mr. Wolfe, Danish consul in London, they met a Mr. Thorklein, an Icelandic scholar and lawyer living in Copenhagen. Because of his help, they were later able to get the Icelandic Scriptures printed and sent to that country where very few such books existed. Concerning further communications about Icelandic Bibles Mr. Paterson wrote: "Our letters being communicated to the Religious Tract Society in London, led to our connection with that valuable institution, and also, though less directly, paved the way for our connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society."[12]

Through a letter from a Rev. Beesen of Faaborg in Fuhnen, published in the Evangelical Magazine which had been sent to them, they learned of the existence of the Danish Evangelical Society. One cannot help but question why John Campbell, who had worked closely with the Committee of the Religious Tract Society since 1804 had not informed the missionaries of Rev. Beesen and the Danish Evangelical Society, for they were certainly known to the Committee of the London Society. In the minutes for 30 September, 1802 appears this quotation from a letter received from Fuhnen: "Our small society arose about three years ago ... The design of our union from the beginning was to promote the spreading of the Gospel and true Christianity. The most successful means for promoting this end has hitherto been likewise with us, the dispersing of edifying tracts."[13] And in the minutes for 10 May, 1804 appeared this report: "A most useful institution of the same kind has been established in Denmark by a company of respectable Danish clergymen, who are now editors of a Danish Evangelical Magazine, and are very

successful in printing and dispersing numbers of tracts, suitable to the peculiar wants of the present time."[14]

Mr. Paterson wrote to Mr. Beesen in December of 1805 hoping to meet him, but he received no reply. By August of 1806, having continued to hear much about the Evangelical Society in Fuhnen and of the Rev. Mr. Beesen the two missionaries journeyed west to visit this man near Odense. There they learned that the Danish Society was about to print two thousand copies of an Icelandic New Testament. This the missionaries felt to be a totally inadequate supply, considering Mr. Thorklein's information on the lack of Bibles in Iceland. So they opened a correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society, who added three thousand more Testaments at their expense, and encouraged them to make preparations for printing the whole Bible in Icelandic.

This first contact with the British and Foreign Bible Society was to prove of great significance to the two men and their work for many years to come. Through it, a new direction would be given to their paths which would take them far from their original goal of India, and in an entirely different manner than they had anticipated. Many years later Mr. Paterson wrote of this in retrospect: "We have observed with pleasure its (the British and Foreign Bible Society) progress during the first two years of its existence, and rejoiced in the prospect of assisting it in giving the Scriptures to the inhabitants of India; but now that our labours were to be confined, for a time at least, to the continent of Europe, we began to think something might be done for the circulation of the Scriptures in the countries where our lot for the present was cast. In this we were encouraged by our friend Campbell's letter. Our first object was inquiry as to the wants of the people, and the probability of supplying these provided we found

that they existed."[15] They never lost sight of this objective.

Through friends in Denmark, the two missionaries heard of and made their first contact in Sweden. This was with a Professor Hyllander at the University of Lund. Of him Mr. Paterson wrote: "Having heard that he was a truly evangelical preacher, and the means of doing much good among the students by his lectures on theology, I wrote to him from Copenhagen, requesting him to give me some information concerning the state of religion in Sweden, and especially in Scona. He kindly replied to all my queries, but said that the Gospel preachers in Scona were just like the hawthorn bushes, few and far between ... There is no such thing as a hawthorn hedge there, and only a few stunted trees or rather bushes. His information showed us that the state of religion was not much better on the Swedish side of the water than on the Danish side."[16]

Just then, Mr. Henderson happened upon an old copy of the Evangelical Magazine for February 1799, in which he read a letter from a curate in Storeberg, near Lidköping in Sweden, by name of Laurence Christopher Retzius. It seems that in that year, a reply from Sweden was received by the London Missionary Society to their letter to Sweden - one of the many sent to foreign Protestant churches asking them to tell the ministers in their lands about the Society. The letter to Sweden, sent through the offices of the Rev. Mr. Nisser, Chaplain to the Swedish embassy and minister of the Swedish Church in London, to the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo in Stockholm had been held up somewhere along the way. However, a lengthy reply from that society, published tardily in the June 1799 issue of the Evangelical Magazine, assured the Missionary Society of their esteem and desire to comply with the request to make known as much as possible this work of spreading the Gospel to

the entire world. They wrote: "We immediately dispatched to the different Bishopricks the copies intended for them, and have used every possible exertion from that time to make your grand undertaking known to the most distant borders of our land ... (and they promised) to transplant among others your most energetic zeal, and to help with our prayers and supplications at an all-sufficient throne of grace, the labours of those brethren who are going forth to publish the Gospel."[17] That they did as they had promised is evidenced by the Rev. Retzius' letter, dated 12 December, 1798, in which he says he will, "Try to collect as much money as in this poor neighborhood can be had ... my own revenue is very little more than ten pounds per annum."[18] Mr. Henderson wrote to the Rev. Mr. Retzius who quickly replied, stating interesting but disheartening facts concerning the spiritual state of his country.

Both letters received from Sweden speak of spiritual destitution in that land and lead one to question a communication from the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo in Stockholm. The British and Foreign Bible Society, after their formation in 1804, wrote to most countries on the continent, asking for information concerning the availability of the Bible to the people in those lands. As before, the letter to Sweden was sent to the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo. When their reply came, it read: "Owing to the gracious and paternal care of the government of our country, as well as from the gospel-light and zeal which had generally spread among individuals, no want exists of that holy book which contains in it the fountain of all knowledge, bringing salvation and producing good will among men."[19] In the light of the two previous letters and a later sharp contradiction of this statement from John Paterson, one wonders if the ministers in that society were

either completely out of touch with the people and didn't know the true situation or simply unwilling to admit the truth of the matter.

In spite of - or perhaps because of - these facts, Sweden, that country across the small strip of water separating Elsinore and Hälsingborg, seemed to beckon to them. In the spring of 1806, Mr. Henderson made a short excursion across on the ferry and distributed tracts among them. The two men visited Lund where they made the acquaintance of Dr. Hyllander and a Professor Egelhart. They left some tracts with Professor Hyllander which he promised to translate into Swedish. Short visits to both Malmö and Karlskrona were made before they returned to Copenhagen.

War with Denmark and the Escape of the Missionaries to Sweden

World events now took a hand in the affairs of the two missionaries. Napoleon and his armies had been marching throughout Europe and alliances were being made between countries, pleasing one and aggravating another. In a secret alliance with France, Russia had agreed to secure the aid of the Danish navy to keep Britain out of the Baltic. Getting wind of this, the British took matters into their own hands to prevent such a blockade. On 3 August, 1807, the first division of the British war squadron arrived in the Sound. Mr. Henderson was the first to recognize that a move would have to be made. He wrote to Mr. Paterson on 12 August, urging him to join him in Elsinore, "To be ready to accompany him, if necessary to Sweden, and there to await the issue of the negotiations then pending."[20]

Mr. Paterson was unwilling to leave immediately, and because of his hesitation, was forced to remain in the city throughout the bombardment which followed. He kept a journal of the proceedings from 10 August to 22 September which he later sent to the Scripture Magazine, who printed it in their first volume. This is thought to be, "The fullest account ever published in our language of the havoc and desolation wrought by the fire-laden missiles, which the Danes in bitter mockery denominated 'Proofs of English friendship'."[21] The city was bombed from the British warships with no apparent consideration for the people and their homes. Mr. Paterson continued: "About four in the morning the spire of the beautiful Lady Church was in a blaze - a colossal torch, 250 feet of flame, burning at a height of 380 feet ... About 1,700 of the townspeople had been killed and fire had destroyed nearly 400 houses ... Yet, strange to say, in the midst of so much ruin the Icelandic Testaments were unscathed."[22]

A rather poignant note in Mr. Paterson's account relates that the bombardment of Copenhagen was carried out under the command of a leading supporter of the Bible Society in London, which had helped finance those Testaments. The British Admiral, James Gambier was a Vice President of the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1805 until his death in 1832.

Little was heard at home from the two men during this time. Then in the October issue of the Missionary Magazine the following notice appeared: "In consequence of the recent events which have taken place in Denmark, we are under considerable anxiety about Messrs. Paterson and Henderson, who, as our readers will recollect were labouring in Copenhagen and Elsineur. Mr. Henderson embarked for Sweden, at an hour's notice with the English consul (Mr. Garlick), and is now

labouring at Gottenburgh. We heard nothing of Mr. Paterson for some time; but we are happy to state, that letters have been received from him. He was in Copenhagen during the bombardment; but through the goodness of God, escaped unhurt."[23] According to his own account, Mr. Paterson finally left Copenhagen on the 18 October and crossed over to Malmo in Sweden.

WORK IN SWEDEN

The New Country

The Political Situation; Morality; Country Life; Nationalism and Mysticism among the Educated.

The Sweden into which these two missionaries came in 1807 was a troubled land, a land undergoing great change. Politically, the country was in a mess. The king, Gustavus IV was foolish and stubborn, totally incapable of ruling. John Paterson, who generally spoke kindly of everyone even wrote of the king: "It cannot certainly be affirmed of him that he was the wisest of men!"[24] The country, depleted of both man-power and money through many wars, was faced with more war and attacks on all sides. Denmark and Norway threatened from the south and the west. To the east, Russia was already on the move, invading the Swedish territory of Finland. Many officers in both army and navy were inept, and some of them sold out to the Russians. While not actually at war with France, Napoleon's great Marshall Bernadotte was ready to attack Pomerania - Sweden's last outpost on the continent. England, Sweden's one powerful ally sent a force of ten thousand men to help, but because of arguments with the king as to how these troops should be deployed, they finally sailed away in disgust. So Sweden was literally left a sitting duck, at the mercy of all her enemies. When the king still

offered no leadership, even refusing to summon the Riksdag, one of the generals, George Adlersparre, arrested him and his resignation was demanded in 1809. Now, for the moment, there was no one on the throne, no heir to the throne, no leader, and still no peace. There was much fear and gloom throughout the entire land. Then old Duke Charles, uncle to the deposed king, was elected to the throne and became King Charles XIII. But he was to give little leadership either. Fortunately, by the autumn of 1810 the situation was relieved with the sudden and surprising election of Marshall Bernadotte as Crown Prince Carl Johan.

The moral conditions of the country were by now at a low level. Production and consumption of whiskey was unmeasurable, and the resulting drunkenness was the cause of much crime. Assault and theft were the worst, and it was not considered safe to travel on the roads. Gambling was common and breaking of the Sabbath was usual. Immorality was so bad that the newspapers began to report on it. By 1822 the Stockholm Post had reported that one-third of all children born in Stockholm were born out of wedlock, and statistics for the whole country reported one out of fourteen.[25]

The country at this time was still largely agrarian, but because for so many years large numbers of the men, especially those who worked on the farms, had been conscripted into the army, there was not the manpower to work the farms. As a result, there were few crops raised in many areas, which in turn resulted in famine and poverty. In fact, conditions were so bad that when they were brought to the attention of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, they opened subscriptions, raising money to buy seed corn, for funds to improve hospitals, and to help alleviate the general suffering of the poor. By April of

1809, three thousand pounds had been sent, and more was to come. An amazing description of the miserable conditions in Sweden as reported to the Bible Society can be read in the Evangelical Magazine, Volume XVII, pages 172, 254 and 255.

Because the country was still an agricultural land, nine-tenths of the population were still living in the country. The Swedes formed a fairly homogenous society and there were few changes in residence or work, due to law and custom. Most people could read and write - they got their training from the pastor, depending on his sense of responsibility and their own willingness. Local news was to be had at either the church or the local pub - often situated beside each other. The king's proclamations were read at Sunday worship and were often longer than the sermon. The old ways of life and custom still persisted, and many of the old superstitions remained. Slowly, new literature began to appear, bringing new ideas which in turn began to bring changes in those old laws and customs. Religious revivals had sprung up in various parts, but on the whole, they had only touched the surface. Mostly, the people hung on to their old ideas of Christian customs, and any who had been affected by any deeper spiritual influences kept those new ideas right alongside the old customs - so not much was changed. And on the whole, ministers were held in respect and a real sense of worship existed in the church services. Many of the ministers were Pietists and some of them had been influenced by the Moravian Brethren.

The well-educated, of whom a large percent were the clergy were, as has been noted, strongly influenced by the Enlightenment on the continent. They more often than not felt superior to those who held the old conservative thought, especially when it came to religion. Oscar Hippel,

in his paper on the state of religion in Sweden during the second decade of the nineteenth century quotes a description of the nature of the religious thought among the clergy who adhered to the Neology of the time as it appeared in the Swedish Literary Newspaper (Svensk Literatur-Tidning) in 1815. It stated: "The Enlightenment as understood here was a type of order and consisted of three degrees. On the first ... one was satisfied to shake off the simplest prejudices, for example, that one ought to read the Bible - the Sabbath must be kept Holy - one could, by a sudden change go to hell, etc. ... The second degree imparted a far clearer light : one excommunicated the clergy from the community ... and one considered oneself, on the whole, more intelligent than Paul. At last, in the third degree, one realized that all superstitions are all actually contained in one single one, namely that one believes in something higher than oneself."[26]

Another strong influence besides that of rationalism was mysticism. There seemed to be an amazingly strong taste for this among both clergy and laity. They evidently found it quite possible to dabble with the occult without giving up their usual Christian devotional habits. There was even some Swedenborgianism left, but this was mainly in Skara diocese. "The secret sickness of the world as Geijer called the Gustavian era's inclination for spiritualism, alchemy and such tricks, was, in its own way a manifestation of the same long survival of the supernatural concept that we have met among the country people."[27]

The Ministry of Ebenezer Henderson

> Gothenburg and the English Chapel; Tract Distribution; Tour of Northern Sweden and Finland; Results of Tract Distribution; Promotion of Bible Societies; Influence for Evangelicalism and Missions - Carl Frederick av Wingård and Cornelius Rahmn; Financial Problems; Founding of a Congregational Church; Departure from Sweden.

Such was the Sweden to which Ebenezer Henderson arrived in late August of 1807. He immediately turned north, heading for the port city of Gothenburg where he had heard there existed a large colony of English and Scots. Many of these were descendants of the soldiers who had fought in the armies of the sons of Gustaf Vasa and of Gustavus Adolphus. It was one of the few ports open for trade at the time - continental ports were being blockaded - so business was brisk, and British merchants were busy making fortunes out of the favorable situation. The British navy still lay off Gothenburg, and the town was crowded not only with men from the fleet, but with many English-speaking travellers seeking refuge.

What was not to be found in this bustling town was either church or a minister to preach to the British residents and visitors. Upon inquiry, Mr. Henderson learned about a small, unused privately owned chapel which he received permission to use. It is highly probable that this chapel was the property of what was called the English Congregation in Gothenburg, which dated back to 1691. At that time, an English congregation was first recorded in Gothenburg which was probably made up of members of the British factory there - British merchants who had some years earlier joined forces for protecting their mutual interests in that city. This English congregation came officially into existence in November of 1747, but did not build a place of worship until several years later. Finally, a building was completed in 1762. When one of the men purchased the building in 1767 to be

his home, the condition was made that the room intended as the church would be available for services. Instead, a separate wing was built and designated as the church and from the records, ministers from England served there until 1785. After that year, there was no minister until 1822 because the small congregation could not afford to pay an adequate salary. As a result, as far as is known, the church remained unused for many years, its very existence unknown to many.

However, during that time a few unexpected entries were made in the records. In 1807 some repairs were made : in 1810 some candles were purchased : and in both 1809 and 1810 wages were paid to a verger. The historians of the church write: "These expenses were somewhat of a mystery because there is no evidence that the church was being used at this time, or that any services were held."[28] But a bit later they add: "It is known that a missionary priest from Copenhagen, a Scotsman called Ebenezer Henderson, visited Gothenburg about this time and got together a Congregational community. It may be that this is the occasion referred to and, if so, it affords an explanation of the expenses incurred."[29] Mr. Henderson's niece and biographer more closely identifies the place, stating: "He had been welcomed there by the British residents, and had been allowed the use of the English Chapel, which was private property and was destitute of an officiating clergyman."[30]

Within a few weeks Mr. Henderson had a regular congregation on Sundays. The services had to be intimated for the benefit of the British people alone -- public worship other than that of the approved religion of the Swedish Church was still prohibited by the old Church Law of 1686. Official representatives of other countries, and others who came to Sweden for business purposes were still allowed their own worship and

ministers, as long as they worshipped privately. But those ministers were not allowed to preach or to administer the sacraments outside their private chapels. The services, conducted by Mr. Henderson in English, were well-attended not only by the British, but also by a good number of Swedes who knew about the services and understood the language.

Not a great deal is known of Mr. Henderson's ministry in Gothenburg except from a relatively small number of letters which indicate that he was zealously pursuing his task as minister to his small congregation. He continued to distribute tracts among the people and also found, in this way, a ministry among the Danish prisoners of war, with whom his knowledge of the Danish language stood him in good stead. "For their use he translated the well-known narrative of James Covey, so popular among sea-faring men."[31] Glassman, in his thesis does not mention this tract, but reports that Mr. Henderson translated the tracts Sixteen Short Sermons and Three Dialogues into Danish. Mr. Henderson himself wrote: "Within these last eleven months, upwards of one hundred thousand have been distributed, and I am happy to add, they have everywhere created interest."[32]

Toward the end of July of 1808 he, together with Mr. Paterson, began an epic two-month tour through northern Sweden and Finland. All along the way they visited clergymen, hoping to get information concerning the religious state of the country, and of the availability of the Scriptures to the people. They also wished to inform the ministers of their plans for founding a society for the distribution of the Scriptures and of tracts, hoping to awaken their interest and receive their support. They carried over six thousand tracts with them which they distributed wherever possible. They observed keenly the conditions

they found and recorded many of them in the journal they kept. Considering the reports of historians of the wide-spread immorality of those years in Sweden, it is interesting to note a comment quite to the contrary made by Mr. Paterson of the area of Dalecarlia: "We never saw a person drunk; nor do we recollect of hearing a single oath during the whole of our tour."[33] What struck them the most was the appalling poverty of the people in most parts of the north - which, of course, prevented the people from possessing copies of the Scriptures, if they were available.

Having reached Torneå, the northernmost city on their route, they visited some small communities of the Lapps. Here they learned that only one edition of the New Testament had ever been published in their language, and that in 1755. The supply of that edition was now nearly exhausted. Their report on the religious state of the Lapps was equally unencouraging. They wrote: "Their Christianity was little more than nominal ... There were very few examples of real Christianity to be found among them."[34]

The two missionaries then proceeded south into Finland, giving away tracts as they went. When they reached southern Finland, they came to Welleaborg, close to the point where the Russian army lay and so were forced to retreat. They had hoped to cross the Gulf of Bothnia to Stockholm, but could not because of the proximity of the Russians. So they had to retrace their steps all the way back north to Sweden - a long and arduous journey. They finally arrived back in Stockholm in October, having travelled a distance of some twenty-three hundred miles - no mean achievement in those days, considering the conditions in a country at war and the uncertainties of travel.

The information they had gathered and their impressions were duly reported to the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, the heart of the reports being that few Bibles were to be found in Lapland, and none at all in Finland. The one happy note sounding in the reports was written by Mr. Henderson to the Religious Tract Society on 4 November, 1808: "We cannot entertain the least doubt but that, by means of the vast number of tracts which have found their way into those regions, many souls will be brought to the knowledge of the truth, and led to rejoice in the Son of God, as the Hope and Restorer of the guilty and the lost."[35] The eventual publication in Stockholm in 1812 of Bibles in the Lapp language and of Finnish New Testaments and tracts was due, in large part to this report. Funds for this work were voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the winter of 1808. That the hope expressed in this report was to a good extent fulfilled can be learned from letters to both London and Edinburgh.

Shortly after their return, the following messages were sent by them, indicating that some immediate results had been forthcoming. The first concerned Umeå: "It gave us much pleasure to learn afterwards that at a little distance from Umeå, there is a number among the peasants awakened, to whom our tracts have been useful. Had we known this at the time we were in that neighbourhood, we might perhaps have visited them, and said something to them for their profit."[36] About Piteå they wrote: "We have heard since of a considerable stir among the peasants not far from Piteå. They have received benefit from some of our tracts which were sent them in the beginning of the summer ... There are some of their adherents in the town itself; but as we knew nothing of them when there, and they knew nothing of us we had not the

pleasure of meeting them."[37] A third instance concerned Bollnäs in Dalecarlia: "We learned that he (the church organist) and many others still living were brought to the knowledge of the truth ... We understood that they sometimes came together to speak of the things which belong to their peace. They feel much the want of the Gospel. We exhorted him to encourage the rest to meet together for prayer, reading the Scriptures, etc."[38]

But it was not until a few years later that reports of the real effects of this deluge of tracts upon the countryside began to appear. Following are excerpts from three letters. On 19 August, 1811 Mr. Paterson wrote to the Religious Tract Society: "A few weeks since, I was visited by an old man from Dalecarlia, who informed me that the tracts we distributed on our journey in 1808 have been the means of much good. The awakened are scattered over a large extent of country; those of them who live near each other, meet often for prayer, and reading the tracts and other religious books."[39] In 1817 he wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society while revisiting northern Sweden: "In going towards the south, I knew I was to pass through tracks over which the Spirit of the Lord has, in the last few years, been poured out in such abundance ... This work began in the year 1808, at which time Mr. Henderson and I first visited those places. It took its commencement in the parish of Luleå, and has gradually extended through a track of 200 or 300 English miles in length. The Word of the Lord has grown and multiplied exceedingly."[40] And over twenty years later, Dr. Henderson, in an address to the committee of the Religious Tract Society in London commented more fully: "When Dr. Paterson and I went to Lapland in 1808, we took a stock of tracts from Stockholm. There was one place where we distributed several hundreds,

consisting chiefly of copies of 'The Great Question Answered'. Some years afterward, we learned that a great sensation had been produced in the parish by giving away these tracts. Inquiry was excited; and, almost immediately, the saving influences of the Holy Spirit were poured out on those who were engaged in reading them; a concern about the immortal interests of their souls became very general among the inhabitants of that parish; the flame, which was thus kindled, was communicated from cottage to cottage, till all became thirsty for the waters of everlasting life."[41] Surely the seed which had been thus sown contributed largely to the harvest reaped in the coming revivals.

It would appear from the early letters, however, that the two missionaries had few contacts themselves with the peasants in the countryside. And it is evident that they learned that there had already been several small awakenings all through the north with the result that many of the peasants had been born again. These early awakenings were the result of the preaching of the missionaries of the Moravian Brethren, many of whom had travelled throughout the whole of northern Sweden for several years. Conventicles had existed there (as well as in many other parts of the country) for over half a century, which were attended by both clergy and laity in spite of their illegality. Unfortunately, there are almost no records of this work.

So the two men, aside from distributing their tracts along the way as they travelled, kept pretty much to their initial aim of visiting the clergy in the towns, to introduce them to the tracts and to interest them in a Bible and Tract Society. Considering the number of miles they covered in a very short time, they would hardly have had time to do otherwise. That they succeeded in this aim can be seen in the records of the Evangelical Society for its first few years. Hardly had

the men returned to Stockholm than many of the ministers whom they had visited were sending for large numbers of tracts. In Mr. Paterson's own words: "We made ourselves acquainted with the state of religion in the north, formed connections here and there over the whole of that extensive tract of country, made arrangements for having the New Testament printed in the Lapland language, and also to have tracts translated and printed in that language, besides the prospect of being able to obtain a considerable circulation of the Scriptures among that destitute people."[42]

After their return, Mr. Henderson continued with his ministry in Gothenburg until the spring of 1812, carrying on the usual duties of a minister to his congregation, as well as other activities. Although there are no records to go by, the testimony of others tells us of the work he did to further the work of the Evangelical Society[42a] in Gothenburg and in areas south, especially by promoting the idea of Bible Societies. When Dr. Gustaf Brunnmark, now minister to the Swedish Legation in London, friend to and member of the British and Foreign Bible Society made a visit to Sweden in 1813, he sent back regular reports to the London Society. After a visit to Gothenburg he wrote that he thought that a Bible Society ought to be established in that city. He added: "I ought, however, here to mention, that I found the minds of many already prepared for this good work; inasmuch as the Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the high reputation of the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson, who had, upon many occasions, advocated its cause, had been powerful means in the Hands of Providence to pave the way; the stay of the Foreign Secretary, the Rev. C. F. A. Steinkopff, at this place (in 1812) short as it was, had also made many look forward to the establishment of a Bible Society

with eager expectation."[43] Dr. Brunnmark returned to Gothenburg a few months later and was present at the formation of the Gothenburg Bible Society on 4 November, 1813. The aged Bishop Wingård was in the chair. One further testimony to Dr. Henderson's work in forming Bible Societies came in a letter from John Paterson, in which he was reporting the annual meeting of the Stockholm Bible Society in 1816. He wrote: "The president proceeded to give a concise account of the progress of the cause in the provinces. Of all the Auxiliary Societies yet formed in Sweden, that of Lund stands first. The activity of his Lordship, Bishop Faxe, aided by the professors and clergy, stands almost unparallelled in the history of Bible Societies. The eminence this Society has attained, is not a little owing to the impulse given to it by the presence of my friend Mr. Henderson, about the time it was forming. He urged the plan of Bible Associations in every parish, the adoption of which has been attended with such amazing effects."[44]

It was also during this time that Mr. Henderson began writing, the result of which were books of sermons, Bible studies and commentaries. He continued his own studies in Greek and Hebrew, and conducted classes in English. It was in one of his English classes that a student named Carl Frederick of Wingård, son of the Bishop of the Diocese of Gothenburg was enrolled. He was a lecturer in theology and known to be strongly influenced by neology. He was openly unsympathetic towards his father's Pietistic friends and his friends in the Herrnhut circles. But this young man was, in the opinions of historians Bengt Sundkler and Gunnar Westin, influenced by Henderson's evangelical thinking to the extent that he turned sharply away from neology. According to D. Fehrman, Wingård's biographer, the two men became close friends,

and Westin opines that, "It is inconceivable that thereby such a zealous man as Henderson would not propagandize for his religion."[45] One of the earliest evidences of Wingård's change was his participation in 1813 in the founding of the Gothenburg Bible Society, at which time he was made one of its secretaries. In 1818 he succeeded his father as president of this society. Mr. Paterson, in a letter to the British and Foreign Bible Society told of an incident that surely indicates some change in the younger Wingård. Having attended a meeting of the Gothenburg Society he wrote: "At the breaking up of the meeting, a most interesting scene took place. The venerable Bishop, taking his son (the excellent Secretary of the Society) by the hand, and addressing himself to me said, 'You see, Sir, that I am an old man about to drop into the grave. I am no longer able to take an active part in this good work; but, thanks be to God, who hath given me this son, and who hath put it into his heart to engage with his whole soul in the cause; so that he not only discharges his own duty as secretary, with a zeal and ability which do him honour, but the duties of his aged father as President'."[46] Wingård's interest in the work of the Bible Societies continued for the rest of his life.

Another evidence of Wingård's change was his growing interest in evangelical missions, which can be traced back to the time of his friendship with Henderson, the missionary. Because of the fact that Gothenburg was practically the only main port in all of western Europe where a break-through of Napoleon's embargo had been made, thousands of foreigners were streaming through that city, among them many missionaries. No numbers are available, but records from the Herrnhut Brethren there relate that they contacted many of them and took them in hand for the time they were there. Would not Mr. Henderson and his group, who

were in close contact with the Brethren have done all they could also for these missionaries? Would not Wingård have come into contact with them at Henderson's home? -- or at the Chapel? It could only have been through such contacts (and the visit of Dr. Steinkopff) that he could have gained such a thorough knowledge of the British Missionary Societies that he advised a young Swede in 1818 who wished to become a missionary: "The English Societies, of several names ... are the best and the most liberal."[47] In that same year, Wingård succeeded his father in the episcopate, and by that time he was involved with the Evangelical Society in Stockholm, of which he had become a member in 1817. His interest in missions continued and grew, and finally in 1835 he was to be one of the founding members of the Swedish Missionary Society, having worked for it through promotion of missions during the intervening years.

Another man upon whom Henderson's influence was to prove of great significance was the Rev. Cornelius Rahmn, Chaplain to the Division of the Royal Artillary in Gothenburg. This young man early became a fast friend of both the missionaries, was strongly influenced by Mr. Henderson's evangelical preaching and soon involved himself with the work of the Evangelical Society in Stockholm. By 1814 he was its representative in Gothenburg. Through his contacts with both Mr. Paterson and Mr. Henderson, he became affiliated with the London Missionary Society and in 1819 went to Russia as a missionary for this society. By this act, he became the first missionary of the nineteenth century to depart from Sweden.

One can only conjecture how far the influence of Mr. Henderson reached through the lives of these two men - an evangelical spirit that without question touched the lives of many others. And the work of the

many ministers in the hundreds of Bible Societies which were begun in the next few decades resulting in the reading of the Scriptures by the people formed a strong support for the revivals. Sundkler, while giving little attention to the work of Mr. Henderson, goes on to say that he considers him to be, "The most important of the missionaries"[48] - of all those that came to Gothenburg.

In 1810 Mr. Henderson made a trip home to Britain and while there consulted with his friends about his position in Sweden - did they continue to consider his ministry there to be their mission? After all, they had in good faith, believing India was the area to which the Lord had directed them to send a missionary, collected their funds and sent the two men on their way. The previous spring he had written in a letter to Mr. Paterson: "Although I am willing to go where I am most likely to be useful, I shall, if possible seek to come to some part of Hindostan."[49] His friends replied, advising him to remain in Gothenburg. But the Congregational churches in Edinburgh, under whose aegis he and Mr. Paterson had set out, had problems and dissensions, and financial support from them was now substantially diminished. Some individuals still helped with gifts, but it was fortunate that friends in London also helped as, "The purse was not merely low, but actually deficient."[50] At this point, (1809) Mr. Paterson noted in his Journal: "We received a very interesting letter from our friend Mr. John Campbell. It was particularly encouraging as the inquiry made by friends in London as to how we were supported led us to hope that if deserted by some of our friends in Scotland, the Lord would raise up friends for us elsewhere both ready and able to support us if this aid should be necessary. We never did apply to our London friends for aid, but it was afterwards spontaneously granted and just when most needed."[51]

Record of this is to be found in the minutes of the General Committee of the Religious Tract Society for 20 November, 1809, at which time the following resolution was made: "This committee in consideration of the unremitted exertions of the Rev. Messrs. Paterson and Henderson in translating and superintending the printing of religious tracts in the Icelandic, Danish, Swedish and Finnish languages and of the expenses incurred by them in prosecuting journies of many hundreds of miles for the purpose of distributing tracts and in translating, printing and circulating the necessary papers in order to induce the formation of a Religious Tract Society on an extensive scale in Sweden, the result of which has been the establishment of the Evangelical Society at Stockholm : it was resolved unanimously that Messrs. Paterson and Henderson be requested to accept of a gratuity of fifty pounds as an acknowledgement of their important services."[52] This is the first record of any gratuity of money to be given out by the committee of the Religious Tract Society, and the very fact that it was given, as well as the amount gives an indication in what high regard the members of the Committee held the work of the two men.

In 1811 Mr. Henderson reported that he now had a Sabbath School and hoped to be helpful to young people. At the end of that year he sent a joyful letter home containing significant news. He wrote: "The Lord of the vineyard hath not let me labour in vain - It will doubtless afford you much pleasure to hear of the formation of a church in Sweden -- on the 6th of October, the first Sabbath, we met in the chapel after its being repaired, the disciples come together in the afternoon, when I addressed them on the nature and ends of Christian association; after which we formed ourselves into a church, by unitedly surrendering ourselves in prayer unto the Lord, imploring his

presence and blessing, and the communication of that grace and strength which He hath promised, to enable us to keep his commandments -- Three months have now nearly elapsed, during which we have not met with the smallest interruption; and having obtained help of God, we have continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine, and the fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayers."[53] Later in the same letter he tells a bit about it, giving us virtually the only information we have about this congregation and of Mr. Henderson's work in it: "Almost every successive Sabbath furnishes me with a number of new hearers. There is such a constant influx and efflux of travellers and sea-faring people here, that the face of my congregation is constantly changing ... My time is filled up in the following manner. On the morning of the Lord's day, we have worship between the hours of eleven and one. At three o'clock p.m. my Sabbath school begins, which continues till half past four. At four we have the Lord's supper and at six our public evening service commences. We have also a lecture on Thursday evening. The rest of the week is taken up with preparatory studies, and endeavors to preach from house to house."[54] It would seem that sloth was not one of Mr. Henderson's besetting sins! But at the same time, while one is compelled to admire Mr. Henderson's courage and industry, one cannot help but wonder that this new congregation was permitted by the church authorities to continue without the smallest interruption . It was against the law, which Mr. Henderson undoubtedly knew. Again one is left only to conjecture : perhaps the church authorities were too occupied in the general confusion, hustle and bustle of Gothenburg just at that time : or perhaps they considered it to be only a group of British Christians come to worship together, which was legal : or perhaps they felt it was more or less a chapel for the many travellers who passed through the city.

Whatever the reason, it is an amazing fact that it was peacefully allowed to exist in a country where such severe laws had been set up to prevent just such a possibility.

However, he was not to enjoy this fruit of his labor for long. Within a short time, Mr. Henderson agreed to go to Iceland for the British and Foreign Bible Society to deliver Bibles and Testaments which had been printed in Denmark. In April of 1812 he wrote: "You may be assured, my dear brother, that it is not without some sensations of pain that I tear myself away from my friends in Gottenburgh, although it appears it be for a season only ... I expect, if spared and plans succeed, to be back here at all events by the autumn of 1813."[55] Mr. Henderson never did return to his work in Gothenburg for any length of time - only for short visits. From that time on, he travelled as an agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society founding societies, translating, and distributing tracts and Bibles. Of the congregation in Gothenburg, little seems to be known. Mr. Glassman has written: "It is recorded in the London Christian Instructor for 1818 with reference to Henderson's church: 'Owing to his removal, however, and the death and removal of some of its members, it no longer exists as a body'."[56]

The Ministry of John Paterson

> Impressions and Decision to work in Stockholm; Rev. Stählin and the Moravian Brethren; Religion in Stockholm; Founding of the Evangelical Society; Tract Publication and Distribution; Significance and Effects of the Tracts; Other Work; End of Support from Scotland; The Swedish Bible; Problem with Society Pro Fide et Christianismo; Printing of Old and New Testaments; Problem of the Apocrypha; Reports to London; The Icelandic Bible; The Lapp Bible; The Swedish Bible Published; A Work Completed - A New Work Awaiting.

When Mr. Paterson left Denmark, two months after Mr. Henderson's departure for Sweden, he came first to Malmö in southern Sweden. He had practically no money with him, so he wrote immediately to Mr. Henderson who arranged for him to travel to Gothenburg with a friend who was on his way there. In a couple of weeks, the two friends were reunited. Mr. Paterson wrote of his impressions: "Religion was in a much more prosperous condition here than in Copenhagen, among all ranks. Several of the clergy were truly evangelical and laborious, and doing much real good."[57] And in a report to the Religious Tract Society in London he made the following comments: "This country affords a much more pleasant prospect in regard to the kingdom of our Lord than Denmark. There are many among all ranks here who have the cause of religion at heart, and will cheerfully engage in any plan calculated to promote the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. All that seems to be wanting is some object to engage their attention, and to call forth their exertions. This I hope, will not be wanting much longer ... In some places where I fell in with a number together they took them (tracts which he had taken with him) and were so eager after them, that I could not supply their demands, so that some were in danger of being torn to pieces ... Although we caused 4 or 5000 to be printed, they are all gone, and the demand for more is very great. Indeed, I am convinced that immense good may be done in this country in this way. Nothing is wanting but money; and I hope to be able to raise a considerable sum for this purpose among our friends in this country; but it is to our friends in England that we chiefly look for assistance."[58]

Mr. Paterson remained in Gothenburg with his friend for about three months. During this time, the two men discussed what their next procedures should be, and of this Mr. Paterson wrote: "We resolved that

Mr. Henderson should remain in the field he now occupied and which promised to be a sphere of great usefulness, whilst I should proceed to the capital, and try what could be done there for the circulation of religious tracts and the printing and distribution of the Scriptures."[59]

In January of 1808 Mr. Paterson set out for Stockholm, there to begin his own ministry in Sweden. Due to the kindness and interest of friends he had made in the Moravian group in Gothenburg, he carried with him letters of introduction to the Brethren in Stockholm. Arriving in that city on 22 January, he went directly to the house of the Brethren where he met their minister, the Rev. John Gottlieb Ståhlin, with whom he soon shared his purpose in coming and his hopes to form a society for the publication and distribution of tracts and Bibles. Westin criticizes Mr. Paterson for going first to the Brethren (albeit they were the only contacts he had in Stockholm) instead of to the Churchmen, saying: "Although he believed himself capable of giving the clergy in Stockholm an orthodox testimony, it didn't occur to him to turn to the leading men of that city's Consistory for help in carrying out his plans."[60] In view of later facts, Westin's opinion is quite unfounded. Moreover, the fact that Mr. Paterson went first to the Brethren seemingly posed no problem to the ministers of the Church in Stockholm at that time. Within a very few years, many members of the clergy, not only in the capital, but in many parts of the country had become members of the Evangelical Society which Mr. Paterson was to found. In a table of membership worked out by Sture Järpemo, by 1814 the society had ten bishops and one hundred and forty-two lesser clergymen on its rolls."[61]

Through Rev. Stählin, Mr. Paterson quickly met many influential men, most of them sympathetic to the Brethren, and who were to be of great help to him. Some of these men, when first hearing of Mr. Paterson and his intents were puzzled by his presence. He wrote: "When I did get to the capital, altho' most kindly received by the friends there, yet they could not perceive why a missionary from England should come to them or what I could possibly do among them."[62] The answer follows immediately: "I pointed out the need there was for the publication and extensive circulation of religious tracts and the advantages likely to result from a well-organized scheme for this purpose. I also brought before them the awful destitution of the people in general in regard to the Scriptures and the need there was that something should be done to supply their wants."[63]

Mr. Paterson observed with lively interest life in this city, and especially the spiritual conditions and religious interests of the people. Considering the historians' comments on life in Sweden at that time, his remarks are surprisingly positive. He wrote: "Here, as in Gottenburgh, I found several pious, and laborious, and faithful ministers of the gospel. Where the gospel was preached with warmth the churches were well attended, and I never witnessed more attentive hearers. Indeed, it was no uncommon thing to see a whole congregation in tears when the love and sufferings of Christ were dwelt on ... There were among the clergy some of who all that could be said was that they were orthodox; but it was a cold orthodoxy. The churches where they officiated were very thinly attended; and the pew was as cold as the pulpit. Still, with one exception, all the clergy were orthodox. Indeed, German neology had never made that progress in Sweden which it had in Germany and Denmark."[64] Of the laity he wrote: "Religion is

warmly supported by the Court, and many of the lower classes know and love the Saviour. It falls much, much short, however, of what it should be, and even of what it is with you in England."[65] It is quite clear that Mr. Paterson saw a great need in the spiritual lives of the people of Stockholm, and he knew exactly how to go about the job of filling that need.

Although Rev. Ståhlin was sympathetic with Mr. Paterson's ideas for printing and distributing tracts, he was, at the same time actually afraid of the consequences of doing so. There had, since 1766 existed a law which gave control of the publication of any and all religious publications in the country to the Consistory of the Swedish Church, and he felt it far too risky to form a Tract Society in Sweden at this time. He voiced these fears in letters to Herrnhut (see Westin, pages 78-80) but went along with Mr. Paterson, hoping thereby to curb him from going too far too fast. In spite of Rev. Ståhlin's fears, the majority of the group of Brethren fell in with the plans. Encouraged by Mr. Paterson's promise of financial help from England, a society was formed on 29 February, 1808 at the home of Rev. Johan Waetterdahl, Curate at the Skeppholm Church, which was to be known as The Evangelical Society (Evangeliska Sällskapet). Sir G. A. Leijonmarck, vice-president of the College of Mines was to be the first president. Their purpose was to be: "To found a tract society in order to spread Swedish, Finnish, and if possible even Lapp tracts."[66] On 20 February, 1809, in a report by the president to the British and Foreign Bible Society the statement of purpose was enlarged to read: "After a mature deliberation, and having previously consulted several exalted patrons, we found it most advisable to include in one society the two-fold object, the circulation of the sacred Scriptures and the distribution of religious tracts.

We therefore determined to entrust the execution of this design to one and the same committee; yet a fundamental rule was added, that each of the two branches should have its separate funds, and a distinct account of the income and expenditure of each should be kept, and annually laid before the public. We hope this arrangement will meet with your approbation."[67] A short time later, the approval of the king was sought and received, thus putting to rest the fears of Rev. Stählin. It is of interest here to note that due to this report, the archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society name 1809 as the founding date of the Swedish Bible Society, although the Swedish Society does not. Actually, a motion for the separation of the Bible committee from the Evangelical Society was not made until July of 1814. Royal sanction for the new society was given on the 22 February, 1815, which date the Swedish Bible Society considers to be its date of birth.

The first two tracts to be translated and published were The Great Question Answered and James Covey . These tracts were received with some astonishment by the public. Mr. Paterson wrote: "The circulation of these tracts created a great sensation throughout the length and breadth of the land. The style was different from anything the people were accustomed to. Some of the wise ones said, 'These are not Lutheran, and they are not Moravian or Herrnhutish : from whence, then, come they'?"[68] The tracts were not only accepted and read, they were evidently eagerly sought after. Dr. Ribbner reports: "During the first year, pamphlets totalling almost 100,000 copies were distributed, which gives evidence to a tremendous demand, and at the same time to a widespread interest in the work of the committee."[69] That the interest continued is evidenced by the figures of tract distribution from

the Society's annual reports. In 1818, 110,345 were circulated, and 160,000 in 1811. The total figure for the first seven years was 783,044.[70]

That the tracts reached the people for whom they were intended throughout the land can be read in letters to the Evangelical Society from ministers who wrote regarding the tracts. One such letter was received from Vicar Schmaltz in Kalix in northern Sweden dated 12 November, 1810, and historian Nils Rodén writes: "He thanks for the pamphlets which were sent to him and which already, for the most part have been distributed, and received with joy by his 'greedy-for-reading audience'."[71] Rodén also points out that a large number of the ministers who made contact with the Evangelical Society were connected with the Herrnhut Brethren in Stockholm, indicating the close ties the men involved in the revivals had with each other. An actual list of parishes and the number of packets (each packet was composed of the seventeen tracts now printed by the society) sent in one shipment in April of 1811, as well as the names of their ministers is given by Rodén in his account.

And so the tracts were spread quickly into many parts of the country, carrying within them the Gospel message to every individual in simple, understandable language, telling him of his need for an experience of salvation - an experience that was quite separate from anything he had previously known. Salvation meant more than membership in the State Church. It meant more than a knowledge of portions of the Scriptures and of Luther's Catechism. It meant even more than knowledge about Jesus and Christianity, rightly preached in the churches. And it meant more than struggling to live a holy life as taught by the Pietists. These tracts told them the WHY and the HOW of all the above - without

which the preaching and the holiness had been so ineffectual. Through reading them, the people saw themselves as guilty sinners and consequently were led to remorse and repentance and a realization of their need for forgiveness. This could be obtained through confession of their sins which, in turn, brought them a great release from the heavy sense of guilt. They were free from their sins. Forgiveness and grace were available upon earnest request, and with the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures, a life of both joyful and sorrowful holiness became a thing not only to be desired, but an adventure to be eagerly sought after.

Some later letters bear witness to the power and results of the tracts. On 12 December, 1816, the secretary of the Evangelical Society in Stockholm wrote to the Religious Tract Society: "We have MANY letters from the country that bear testimony to the general good effect produced by our tracts on those that have read them. Had not the icy ingredients of infidelity frozen the hearts of so many in our cold Sweden, no doubt the seed would have sooner taken root and produced fruit; but as it is, it requires time and much patience."[72] And on 7 February, 1817, the Committee of the Evangelical Society reported to the Religious Tract Society: "That the reading of these tracts has been attended with a blessing is not a mere probability; for, beside the general assurances to this effect in letters, we have positive information, that several persons have been brought to the knowledge of the truth by them ... Thus we see that the grain of mustard seed, sown in 1808, has become a great tree, which spreads its boughs over the whole country, and bears fruit for time and eternity."[73]

In light of this and earlier testimonies, there can be little doubt that the introduction, publication and distribution of the evangelical

religious tracts in Sweden by Mr. Paterson and Mr. Henderson had a tremendous effect upon the lives of many people throughout the entire land. Neither man made any extravagant claims, as others had, as to the efficacy of the tracts themselves - that souls had been saved simply through reading them - but unquestionably, their work of telling the Gospel story was of great significance and would be richly rewarded in the harvest of the coming revivals. Nevertheless, most Swedish church historians have tended to minimize the work of these two men and the effects of the tracts in the religious life of the people. Emil Liedgren reduces their work to one short statement in his history of that era: "The Evangelical Revival in England had, through both the zealous tract-spreaders John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson made contact with Herrnhut influenced ministers and laymen in our land and an inclination for missionary work, Anglo-Saxon style had begun to awaken here."[74] He then goes on to tell of the Evangelical Society, giving total credit to its Swedish members. In a footnote he adds that another writer will deal further with the subject. This has not yet been done - after thirty-five years. Historian Ernst Newman has been more generous saying: "With their biased stress on sin and judgment, the Saviour and 'the Kingdom of free grace', these tracts have promoted all over the land a turn to serious, practical piety which paved the way for the evangelical revival."[75]

Normally, one would think that the job of founding such a society with all its attendant duties such as committee meetings, correspondence and interviews as well as supervising the publication and distribution of the tracts and the general leg-work involved would consume most of the hours of the day. Yet, it seems that Mr. Paterson still found time for many other pursuits. From the very first day of his arrival in

Stockholm he began to study the Swedish language, not generally considered to be an easy task. Then, finding a larger group of British people in that city than he had thought to be there - merchants, mechanics, travellers and members of the British Fleet - he sought for and found a church where he could conduct services of worship in English for these people. This was the French Reformed Church, located in the center of the city. Here, according to his own record, he preached, "Every forenoon till the end of July (1808)."[76]

Nor was this all. He also began, upon arrival in Stockholm to give private lessons in English. This was a necessary task, for he was sorely in need of funds. In his Journal, Mr. Paterson explains the problems which both he and Mr. Henderson were having in this area, but which he did not include (perhaps out of both kindness and discretion) in his memoirs. Nor is anything to be found about the matter in any of Mr. Henderson's correspondence. As was mentioned earlier, there were serious problems in the church in Edinburgh - mainly that its chief leadership and support had been withdrawn. Both James and Robert Haldane had now become Baptists and had left not only the Edinburgh churches, but also the Seminary and indeed, the denomination. This materially weakened all the Congregational churches in Scotland to the extent that little or no aid could be expected from them to support missionaries. Robert Haldane had been in contact with the two men in Sweden, hoping to interest them in joining him, but this they refused. As a result, he offered to pay their passage back home to Scotland, but this too they refused. Mr. Paterson recorded in his Journal: "We were not the men to be moved from our purpose and were determined to keep to the parts where Providence had placed us and do what we could for our own support, not doubting that if we needed aid, friends would

be raised up to assist us to carry on His work on the continent of Europe."[77] As we have already seen, this aid did come.

In spite of the difficulties, the problems in the Edinburgh churches must have caused them, Mr. Paterson added with what can only be termed Christian charity: "Both of the Messrs. Haldane had done immense good during the few years they had gone steadily and none can tell how much more good they might have done had they not been men given to change."[78] But then in a very human way he adds: "And yet perhaps it was well that the connection with the Haldanes was broken off. Mr. Robert Haldane had too much influence over the churches and pastors. Mr. Aikman used often to say that it was a happy deliverance when both the brothers became Baptists as then their influence over the churches was at an end."[79]

Reading between the lines in both Mr. Paterson's Journal and "The Book for Every Land", it seems that this situation offered a certain deliverance to the two missionaries from their sense of responsibility to the Edinburgh churches. It was a release, conscious or subconscious, from their original intent and pledge to those churches to go to India to found a Mission, to a new, timely and relevant purpose. The great need for the Gospel of the people in whose midst they now found themselves presented to them an equally great challenge as the need of the far-off Hindus in India. And the means by which to meet this challenge already lay within their grasp through their close relationship with both the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society in London. Nowhere after this time, with the one exception of Mr. Henderson's letter to Mr. Paterson in 1810, can any mention by either man of a desire to continue on to India be found, in letter or in report.

Now that the new society was set on its course of printing and distributing tracts, Mr. Paterson turned to the next job he had in mind to do - a job he considered even more important than that of the tracts - the circulation of the Scriptures. During his first visit to Sweden from Denmark, and also during his stay in Gothenburg, and during the several months he had been in Stockholm he had made inquiries about the availability of the Scriptures for the people in general. He was convinced by them and by the evidence of his own eyes that the want was great. On 10 April, 1808 he wrote to Mr. Tarn of the British and Foreign Bible Society: "I am sorry to say that there is a very great scarcity of Bibles among all ranks but especially among the poor, few of whom have a copy of the Scriptures. In the town a copy of the Scriptures is to be found in almost every house among the better class; but very few of the labouring class possess this invaluable treasure. In the country the farmers and innkeepers generally have a Bible in their families, but among the cottagers who are by far the most numerous class in Sweden scarce a Bible is to be found. There is no such thing as a servant or unmarried person in the country having a Bible and many among this class never have an opportunity of reading that precious book."[80] The problem was not that Bibles were non-existent, but that the price was prohibitive for a large number of the people. They were simply too poor to be able to pay for a copy.

With this information as support, Mr. Paterson went on to ask for funds for a Bible Society in Sweden to help provide the people with the Scriptures. A week later he received an unexpected reply. The London Society refused his request, stating that his information to them was incorrect. Had they not only four years earlier received, in

answer to their request concerning the availability of the Scriptures the reply from the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo of Stockholm, assuring them that there was NO dearth of the Scriptures in Sweden? (see page 137). Needless to say, Mr. Paterson felt himself to be in a bit of a spot - his integrity was in question. Not willing to let such a situation ride, he immediately went to call upon Dr. Murray, head of the Stockholm clergy and a member of Pro Fide. This gentleman denied any knowledge of the matter, but promised to investigate. When Mr. Paterson returned to see Dr. Murray a few days later, he was informed that nothing at all was known about the matter. This is difficult to understand inasmuch as the minutes of that Society on 31 May, 1804 clearly state the reply which was received by the London Society shortly thereafter (see page 137). All Dr. Murray would have needed to do would have been to refer to the minute book and the information he needed would have been before his eyes. And surely after only four years, there would have been other members of the Society whose memories could have stretched back that far had Dr. Murray wished to consult them. So we are left to wonder and to question a seemingly unreasonable statement by a reasonable man.

Mr. Paterson relayed Dr. Murray's reply to London, with the result that he was encouraged to proceed with his plans and promised liberal financial aid. They also suggested that he seek the cooperation of the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo, but this he refused to do, saying: "But for this I used no effort, being fully convinced, from what I knew of the Society, that it would prove a drag upon me rather than a help. I freely told my friends what I thought of the Society, and there was an end to all mention of it ever afterwards."[81]

However, he again wrote to the London Society on 17 July, in a further statement to support his original opinion: "I knew my statement was too well-grounded to admit of a doubt. I however mentioned the subject to my friends here who not only confirmed me in the opinion I had stated; but even assured me that it was a very rare thing to meet with a copy of the Scriptures among the working class of the poor, and as to the army and navy there is no such thing to be found among them unless their chaplain happens to have one with him."[82]

While all this may sound to us as though Mr. Paterson indulged himself in a bit of temper about the matter, perhaps he was justified in it, and it was just as well that he made the decision he did. According to the minutes of Pro Fide et Christianismo for the 1 August, 1808, a second application was made to them by the British and Foreign Bible Society through Dr. Gustaf Brunnmark (minister to the Swedish Legation in London), who was a member of Societas Pro Fide et Christianismo as well as of the British and Foreign Bible Society, concerning the availability of the Scriptures to the general public in Sweden, together with an offer of support should they wish to accept it. Again, the Swedish Society could not see that there was any need for Bibles in Sweden. The following statement appears in those same minutes: "The Society remembered that several years earlier they had corresponded with this Bible Society concerning the same subject, having at that time announced that the supply of Bibles within the Fatherland was sufficient. The same testimony, it was thought by the Society, could even now be declared without reservation : and if yet some homes could be found where, according to the English missionary's information, a Bible was missing, then it would usually be such a one which either entertained no special desire for this book, or if one

was received, would not long understand how to appreciate or value it. On the contrary, the Society had learned through a certain experience that even the least well-to-do home in the entire Fatherland, especially out in the countryside owned both a Bible and several other teaching-edifying books as well as the means to acquire them, as much as they wished."[83]

It is a pity that there is no record concerning the "certain experience" mentioned above for whatever it may have been, it served well to confirm in the minds of the members of the Society their earlier opinions formed in 1804. At the same time, it is indeed surprising that in August the committee could remember an action it took in 1804 while only four months earlier this same action escaped the memory of them all.

The problem with Pro Fide is further confused by still another statement by Mr. Paterson in his letter of 17 July. He wrote: "I then shewed the inclosed letters to some of the directors of the Society Pro Fide Chr.; but they knew nothing of your inquiry or of the answer you had received from them : nor could they conceive how it was possible to give such a statement, as every person knows that a Bible is rarely to be found among the labouring poor; as also that it costs so much that they are utterly unable to purchase one. Among the rest I went to the most active director in the Society and who was till lately their President, but he knew as little of the matter as the rest; but promised to inquire into it. I asked him if my statement was exaggerated, he said he was convinced that it was not."[84] Perhaps it was sometime during the two weeks between Mr. Paterson's letter and that of Pro Fide to the British and Foreign Bible Society that the memories of the members of Pro Fide were brought to life. But the

entire statement with its clear contradictions leaves us with questions that seem unanswerable. And it is rather unfortunate that Westin, the only historian who so much as refers to this part of the history states only, concerning Mr. Paterson, that, "He didn't want to have anything at all to do with the men of Pro Fide et Christianismo."[85] But in spite of it all, the London Society, faithful to their promise, sent in April of 1809 to the Evangelical Society three hundred pounds towards the printing of the Swedish Scriptures. To this work Mr. Paterson now addressed himself.

The most recent edition of the Scriptures in Sweden had been printed during the reign of Gustavus III who had commissioned in 1773, twenty-one men to provide the church with a new and improved translation. These men began publishing their work in parts, as they completed them, and the final whole was printed in 1793. It was considered a good translation, but it was not well-liked by the people. Therefore, the central committee of the Evangelical Society decided to use the old standard translation of 1703. Work proceeded well as the committee had time on their hands just now to devote to the project - an order had been received from the government that all work on publication and circulation of tracts was to be suspended until a new king and a new constitution were effected and the political problems were settled. By the end of 1809, they were ready to begin actual printing of the Bible, and announced this fact to the public in hopes of raising funds for it. In spite of the impoverished conditions in which so many of the people found themselves, they donated close to three hundred pounds. Their desire for the Scriptures was great indeed!

The first edition of the New Testament was printed and ready for distribution in April of 1810. Three editions were printed, totalling

10,699 copies. By 1812 the Old Testament was printed, using the same size paper and print so as to make a complete Bible, but without the Apocryphal books usually included in the Swedish Bible. Mr. Paterson was firmly opposed to printing the Apocryphal books and stated: "It never entered our thoughts to print the Apocrypha with the Word of God, and we resisted it to the utmost."[86] For this Bible the British and Foreign Bible Society donated another three hundred pounds, and a further four hundred pounds were solicited in Sweden. The omission of the Apocrypha caused a fearful row and feelings ran so high that the committee split over the issue. Advice was sought from the London Society who decided, "To leave the question to the foreign friends' own discretion and choice, but no annotations or exposition should be anticipated in the eventual edition."[87] The upshot of it all was that in 1814, ten thousand copies of the Apocrypha were printed separately and made available to those who wished to have them along with their Bibles. According to Dr. Ribbner, "This division signified the beginning of the disappearance of the Apocrypha from the Swedish Bible."[88]

But with or without the Apocrypha, the Bibles were eagerly sought by the people, as two separate reports sent to the British and Foreign Bible Society clearly show. The first states: "The first edition of the Swedish Bible, consisting of 5000 copies had been printed ... As the whole of this edition was bespoken long before it was printed, arrangements have been made for printing a new edition. To this and the printing of a fifth edition of the New Testament (16,000 copies having been printed in four preceding editions) your committee have contributed by a grant of £200."[89] Also, in a report to the Society from Dr. C. F. Steinkopff, foreign secretary of the Society, on his

return from a visit to Stockholm in 1813 is stated: "Many thousands of Bibles and Testaments have already been dispersed in Sweden, the beneficial effects of which become evident in the growing interest which the Society excites among all ranks and conditions of people, and the increasing desire among the poor to obtain the heavenly treasure; yet, much as this society has effected, more remains to be done. The more minute the inquiry is made, the greater the want appears."[90]

One is compelled to wonder how many more years might have elapsed before the Bible would have been made available to rich and poor alike in Sweden had not these two Scottish missionaries arrived with their enthusiastic evangelical desire to share the Gospel, their intent to implement this by making both tracts and Bibles available, their drive to accomplish it, and their ability to inspire the Swedes to work themselves towards this end. And when one learns the remarkable results of their labors, it is difficult to understand the obvious reluctance of Swedish historiography to give them due credit.

In his history of the Swedish Bible Society, Fritz Beskow gives a scant four pages at the outset for the history of the years between 1807 and 1815 and to the work of John Paterson. Mr. Henderson is not even mentioned. His only words of acknowledgement and praise were: "And see, after a visit of only five weeks in the capital city he succeeded in building a similar society - the Evangelical Society. Surely this must be seen as a master proof of the religious energy, if one considers that Paterson was an alien whose mother-tongue few understood, and whose broken Danish was not calculated to inspire confidence, especially now when war with Denmark prejudiced the Swedes against anything Danish."[91]

Dr. Ribbner, in his history of the Tract Societies in Sweden has proved to be the most generous chronicler of Mr. Paterson's work. Concerning the arrival of the missionaries in Sweden he writes: "With this the evangelical revival in England had come into contact with our land and its religious life, which in the coming developments would be of great significance for both missions and for evangelization. John Paterson began an organized mass-dissemination of tracts, which, during the first half of the nineteenth century was to reach far out into the Swedish countryside. Evangelization had begun."[92]

Further on Dr. Ribbner adds: "Paterson does not often appear in the minutes. That it was he who directed everything is clearly evident in a comparison between the Evangelical Society and the Religious Tract Society : the same determined lines of operation and, right from the beginning, the appropriate principle of keeping the central operation 'free' in its connection with the church."[93]

It would not come amiss here to state that while Dr. Ribbner's first statement is true, the same can be said for the rest of the members of the Committee. However, if one examines the roll-call of those present at each meeting during the years that Mr. Paterson was in Sweden, it will be seen that he was present at a large majority of those meetings. He was present at three out of four meetings in 1809 - it should be noted that after March in 1809 no meetings were held for several months because of political exigencies. He was then present at eleven out of fourteen meetings in 1810, at twelve out of thirteen in 1811 and at seven out of eight in 1812. In 1809, the very first minutes of the Society dated 7 February, the names of those present do not include that of Mr. Paterson, but it would be quite wrong to assume that he was not there. In fact, his name is also missing in the roll-call of the

other three meetings held during that year, but inasmuch as he is named during the course of the minutes to have made reports at each of those meetings, it is quite obvious that he must have been present.

Other historians, however, have said amazingly little. In 1929, Gunnar Westin, in a review of the thirty years preceding the arrival of George Scott in 1839 said only: "The Evangelical Society was a creation of British initiative and Herrnhut lay piety."[94] Bengt Sundkler in 1937 merely quotes Westin and adds: "The initiative was Paterson's and therefore English, but the real strengths within the society were the Herrnhut Brethren - or Herrnhut oriented."[95] In 1939 Ernst Newman, in speaking of this work deigns not even to name the missionaries but says only: "The initiative for this founding came through a Scottish representative of the English evangelicalism, and from English fellow-believers the Society received free support."[96]

In view of all the gathered evidence, it seems proved that John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson offered and gave a great deal more to the advance of evangelical Christianity in Sweden than its historians have allowed them. In fact, at one time in 1810 when the Swedish committee's work had evidently gone awry, Mr. Paterson himself went so far as to claim that, "The whole burden of printing and issuing the Swedish tracts and Scriptures, with the Laplandish Testament and the Icelandic Bible, was cast on my shoulders, so that I had quite as much as I could do."[97] Credit came also from Dr. Steinkopff who, in his aforementioned report to the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1812 wrote: "It is here a duty incumbent on me to add, that the services which the Rev. Messrs. Paterson and Henderson have rendered to the Stockholm Society, as well as to ours, are invaluable; and that

both these gentlemen devote themselves to the cause of the Bible with so much zeal, prudence, assiduity and perseverance, that they have gained the esteem and good wishes of many of the best men in Sweden and Denmark."[98]

A final word on this subject would seem to come from the Swedish Society itself. In the first annual report of the Swedish Bible Society, translated and read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, this encomium to Mr. Paterson was made: "And here your committee might very properly be charged with an act of injustice, were they to omit to mention the name of the Rev. John Paterson, who was the first moving cause of the Evangelical Society's undertaking the printing of Bibles, and who never ceased to take a zealous and affectionate interest in the cause of the Swedish Bible Society. Through his kind interposition it was, that, year after year, the English Society enriched the Swedish Bible fund with donations, amounting, at the close of the year 1814 to £1600 sterling, besides 1000 rix dollars, bank money, presented through the late Rev. Dr. Brunnmark; and exclusively of their gift of £300 sterling towards the gratuitous distribution of Bibles and a donation of £100 sterling for the same purpose, from the Edinburgh Bible Society."[99]

With the work of the Society to publish and distribute both tracts and Bibles now well under way, Mr. Paterson proceeded with two further projects. The first of these was the printing of the Bible in Icelandic for the people of that island, a task on which he had worked for some time together with Mr. Henderson and Mr. Thorklein of Copenhagen. The first aim was to release the thirty-five hundred copies of the New Testament which they had had printed while still living in Denmark. In

order to make their plans to have more Testaments as well as Bibles printed, the three men met in Hälsingborg. But most of the work had to be accomplished by letter; and the finances were to be handled by the Evangelical Society in Stockholm, administered by Mr. Paterson. Mr. Henderson volunteered to take the consignment to Iceland when the release was obtained for the thirty-five hundred Testaments and Bibles were printed, and to superintend their distribution there. By the end of 1810, plans were fairly well along and the work begun. Mr. Paterson then moved on to his next project.

This project was to be the provision of both tracts and Scriptures for the people of Lapland, translated and printed in their own language - a project whose inception sprang from the trip the two missionaries had made to Lapland in the summer of 1808. While visiting in Härnösand, they had met Bishop C. G. Nordin, to whose diocese belonged the whole of Swedish Lapland, and who was the only person in Sweden at that time authorized to print any book in the language of the Lapps. Having informed the Bishop of the plan to start a Bible Society in Sweden, and having given him some of their tracts to read, they were pleased when he showed great interest in both. The result of this visit was a bargain struck between them. If the Bishop would grant his authorization and help with the printing, Mr. Paterson would request from the Bible Society in London the necessary funds for printing five thousand copies of the New Testament in the Lapp language. That Mr. Paterson successfully carried out his part of the bargain can be read in the sixth annual report of the British and Foreign Bible Society: "Your Committee have also availed themselves of the assistance of the Evangelical Society at Stockholm to print, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society a New Testament in the dialect of

Lapland, for the benefit of the inhabitants of that country. The necessity of this work (as the former edition of 1755 was entirely exhausted) and the despair of accomplishing it were forcibly pointed out to two correspondents of your Committee by Bishop Nordin ... It appeared also, that in his diocese, which comprised the north of Sweden and Swedish Lapland, there were about 10,000 Laplanders unacquainted with any language but that of their own country. The Bishop himself has undertaken to superintend the publication; and the sum of £250 has been voted for an edition of 3000 copies of the New Testament."[100]

In May of 1811, Bishop Nordin showed he had faithfully executed his part of the bargain when he wrote to inform Mr. Paterson that the New Testament would be printed before the end of that month. He also stated that he was ready to print any tracts which Mr. Paterson would like to have translated and published. As a result, three tracts were translated and printed and shipped to the north along with the Testaments, which had been sent to Stockholm for binding. The next problem was that of distribution, for Mr. Paterson did not feel able, because of his many committments, to take on this job. Instead, he and Sir Leijonmarck decided upon a courageous step - to apply to the Ecclesiastical Commission at the Court of Chancery for advice. Information of the project came as news to the head of the Commission, but that gentleman, "Approved of what had been done, and could not enough admire the liberality of the Society, which had taken on itself the whole expense."[101] The result was that the Chancery agreed to make all arrangements for transportation of the Testaments to Härnösand and for their distribution together with the Consistory of Härnösand. And all was to be paid for out of the public treasury. This was victory without parallel!

Upon completion of this project, Mr. Paterson turned his eyes eastward toward Finland and by late summer was on his way to Åbo to see about the publication of the Bible in Finnish and to try to form a Bible Society there. Here he met Bishop Tengstrom and laid before him his proposals. The Bishop was in favor with all Mr. Paterson's ideas, especially when he offered the assistance of the British and Foreign Bible Society in the amount of five hundred pounds for the printing of the Bible. Mr. Paterson then returned to Stockholm to await sanction from Emperor Alexander for the new project. It was received in November.

In March of 1812, Mr. Paterson reached the period which he considered to be a turning point in his life. He wrote: "I had the unspeakable pleasure of seeing my great work for Sweden - the first edition of 5000 copies of the Swedish Bible with standing types - completed, and a bound copy presented to the Evangelical Society at their annual meeting on the 17th of the month."[102] In the same month, he received word from Denmark that the new Icelandic Bible had left the press and was waiting to be transported (along with the Testaments) to their destination. The work in Finland was now under way and awaiting his help. Besides that, the London Society had requested him to proceed to Russia to see what he could do there. At the close of 1811 he had written: "Great progress had been made in the work for which we had been detained on the Continent of Europe, and for which we had been sent to Sweden."[103] Now he concluded: "Thus my work in Sweden closed in a measure just at the time when God, in his kind providence had opened up a new and a wide field for my exertions in Finland, and apparently in Russia itself. I was therefore free to move wherever the providence of God might point out the way."[104]

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3. Missionary Magazine, Vol. X, 1805, p.224.

4. Ibid., p.38, 39.

5. Ibid., p.267.

6. Ibid., p.269.

7. Ibid., p.526.

8. Ibid., p.262, 263.

9. John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, London, 1858, p.10.

10. Ibid., p.11.

11. Missionary Magazine, Vol. XI, 1806, p.483.

12. Missionary Magazine, Vol. X, 1805, p.19.

13. Minutes of the Committee, Religious Tract Society, 30 September, 1802.

14. Minutes of the Committee, Religious Tract Society, 10 May, 1804.

15. John Paterson, op. cit., p.13.

16. Ibid., p.15.

17. Evangelical Magazine, Vol. VII, 1799, p.258.

18. Ibid., p.100.

19. John Owen, The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1816, p.114.

20. John Paterson, op. cit., p.29.

21. Thulia Henderson, Memoir of the Rev. E. Henderson, D.D., Ph.D., London, 1859, p.60.

22. John Paterson, op. cit., p.36.

23. Missionary Magazine, Vol. XII, 1807, p.438.

24. John Paterson, op. cit., p.97.

25. Emil Liedgren, Neologien, Romantiken, Uppvakandet, 1809-1823, Svenska Kyrkans Historia, Vol. VI-2, Uppsala, 1946, p.44.

26. Oscar Hippel, Om Den Kyrkligt Religiösa Brytningen under Adertonhundratalets Andra Årtionde, Uppsala, 1924, p.10, 11. "Den Upplysning, som här menas, var ett slags orden och bestod af tre grader. På den första ... nöjde man sig med att afskudda de enklaste fördomarna, såsom t. ex. att man borde läsa Bibeln, att sabbaten måste hållas helig, att man i en bred vändning kunde fara till helvetet ... Den andra graden meddeladed likval ett vida renare ljus : der bannlyste man presteståndet ur staten ... och höll sig öfverhufvud för klokare än Paulus. Äntligen i tredje graden insåg man att alla vidskeppelser egentligen innefattas i en enda, nemligen i den att tro på någonting högre än sig sjelf."

27. Emil Liedgren, op. cit., p.29. "Den stora världens hemliga sjukdom som Geiger benämde den Gustavianska tidens böjelse för andeskåderi, alkemi och liknande konster, var på sitt sätt en yttring av samma länge fortlevande supranaturala föreställningsliv, som vi mött bland allmogen."

28. Townshend, S., and Adams, H. J., History of the English Congregation and its Association with the British Factory in Gothenburg, Gothenburg, 1946, p.49.

29. Ibid., p.50.

30. Thulia Henderson, op. cit., p.61.

31. Ibid., p.62.

32. Missionary Magazine, Vol. XIII, 1808, p.123.

33. John Paterson, op. cit., p.78.

34. Ibid., p.89.

35. Tenth Annual Report, 1809, Religious Tract Society, p.127.

36. Missionary Magazine, Vol. XIV, 1809, p.373, 374.

37. Ibid., p.421.

38. Ibid., p.378.

39. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1812, Religious Tract Society, Appendix, p.180.

40. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1850, p.316.

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42. Missionary Magazine, Vol. XIII, 1808, p.511.

43. Tenth Annual Report, 1814, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.148.

44. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.148.

45. Gunnar Westin, George Scott och hans Verksamhet i Sverige, Stockholm, 1929, p.82. "Det är otänkbart, att därvid en så nitisk man som Henderson icke skulle propagera för sin religion."

46. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, Appendix, p.282.

47. Bengt Sundkler, Svenska Missionssällskapet 1835-1876, Uppsala, 1837, p.29. "De Engelska Sällskaperne - af flera namn - äro de bästa och mäst liberala."

48. Ibid., p.10. "Den betydelsefullaste av dessa missionärer."

49. Thulia Henderson, op. cit., p.69.

50. Ibid., p.71.

51. MS John Paterson, Journal, Unpublished Manuscript, p.85. Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

52. Minutes of the General Committee, Religious Tract Society, 20 November, 1809, London.

53. Missionary Magazine, Vol. XVII, 1812, p.71, 72.

54. Ibid., p.74, 75.

55. Ibid., p.189.

56. MS J. H. Glassman, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Ebenezer Henderson : Missionary, Traveler, Teacher, Biblical Scholar, 1958, New College Library, Edinburgh, p.79.

57. John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, p.55.

58. Ninth Annual Report, 1808, Religious Tract Society, p.113.

59. John Paterson, op. cit., p.56.

60. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.77. "Ehuru han trodde sig kunna ge även prästerskapet i Stockholm ett testimonium orthodoxiae, föll det honom icke in att vända sig till de ledande kyrkomännen i stadskonsistoriet för att få hjälp till sin plans genomförande."

61. Sture Järpemo, Väckelse och Kyrkans Reform, Uppsala, 1977, p.16.

62. John Paterson, op. cit., p.64.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., p.63.

65. Ninth Annual Report, 1808, Religious Tract Society, p.113.

66. Torvald Ribbner, De Svenska Traktatsällskapen, 1808-1856, Lund, 1957, p.51. "... att stifta ett traktatsällskap för att sprida svenska, finska och om möjligt även lapska traktater."

67. Fifth Annual Report, 1809, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.234.

68. John Paterson, op. cit., p.65.

69. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.56. "Redan första året spreds skrifterna sammanlagt i nära 100,000 ex., vilket vittnar om en väldig efterfrågan och på samma gång om ett omfattande, för saken intresserat arbete av kommittén."

70. Ibid., p.69.

71. Nils Rodén, Det Norrländska Nyläseriets Uppkomst, Stockholm, 1942, p.90. "Han tackar där för de småskrifter, som sänts honom, och vilka redan till största delen blivit utdelade och med glädje mottagna av hans 'läsgiriga åhörare'."

72. Eighteenth Annual Report, 1817, Religious Tract Society, p.354.

73. Ibid., p.355.

74. Emil Liedgren, op. cit., p.171. "Den evangelikala väckelsen i England hade genom John Paterson och Ebenezer Henderson nått kontakt med herrnhutiskt påverkade präster och lekman i vårt land, och håg för missions arbete i anglo-saxisk stil hade begynt vakna ochså här."

75. Ernst Newman, Gemenskaps och Frihetssträvanden i Svenskt Fromhetsliv 1809-1855, Lund, 1939, p.22. "Med sitt ensidiga framhävande av synden och domen, Frälsaren och 'den fria nådens rikedom' ha dessa traktater över hela landet främjat en vändning till allvarlig praktisk fromhet, som banat väg för den evangeliska väckelsen."

76. John Paterson, op. cit., p.75.

77. MS John Paterson, Journal, Unpublished Manuscript, p.80. Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

78. Ibid., p.81.

79. Ibid.

80. MS John Paterson, Unpublished Letter, 10 April, 1808. Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

81. John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, p.70.

82. MS John Paterson, Unpublished Letter, 17 July, 1808. Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

83. Minutes of Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo, 1 August, 1808. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. "Samfundet erinrade sig att för några år tillbaka hafva corresponderat med denna Bibel Societet rörande samme emne, hafvande redan då tydeligen tillkännagifvit, att tillgången af Biblar vore innom fäderneslandet tillräcklig. Samma vitnesbörd trodde sig Samfundet äfven nu kunna utan förbehåll afgifva; och om än några hus skulle finnas der, enligt den Engelska missionärens uppgift, Bibel skulle saknas, så torde det merendels vara sådana som äntligen ej hysa någon särdeles längtan efter denna bok eller och om de skulle erhålla den, ej länge skulle förstå att vardera den. Då Samfundet tvertom af en säker erfarenhet inhemtat, att äfven de minst bemedlade hus i hela fäderneslandet, särdeles på landsbygden både egde Bibel och flera andra undervisnings och uppbyggelse Böcker, samt tillgånger att dem förvarfva, så vida de det önskade."

84. MS John Paterson, Unpublished Letter, 17 July, 1808. Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

85. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.77. "Han ville icke heller ha med männen i Pro Fide et Christianismo att skaffa."

86. John Paterson, The Book for Every Land., p.130.

87. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.65. "... beslutat att överlämna frågan till de utländska vännernas egen urskillning och val, men inga anmärkningar eller förklaringar fick förekomma i den eventuella utgåvan."

88. Ibid., p.66. "Denna tudelning innebar början till Apokryfernas försvinnande ur den svenska Biblen."

89. Eighth Annual Report, 1812, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.202.

90. Ninth Annual Report, 1813, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.447.

91. Fritz Beskow, Svenska Bibelsällskapet, 1815-1915, Stockholm, 1915, p.4, 5. "Och se, redan efter fem veckors vistelse i hufvudstaden lyckas det honom att bilda ett dylik sällskap - Evangeliska sällskapet. För visso måste detta betraktas som ett mästerprof på religiös energi, om man betänker, att Paterson var en främling, hvars modersmål få förstodo, och hvars knaggliga danska icke var ägnad att ingifva förtroende, särskildt nu, då kriget med Danmark gjorde svenskarna afvoga mot allt dansk."

92. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.43. "Med detta hade den evangeliska väckelsen i England kommit i förbindelse med vårt land och dess fromhetsliv, vilket i den kommande utvecklingen blef av stor betydelse både for missions saken och evangelisationen.

John Paterson började en organiserad mass spridning av traktater, vilka under 1800-talets förra hälft nådde vida ut i de svenska bygderna. Evangelisationen tog sin början."

93. Ibid., p.58. "Paterson framträder icke ofta i protokollen. Att det var han som dirigerade det hela, framgår tydligt av en jämförelse mellan Evangeliska Sällskapet och Religious Tract Society : samma utstakade linjer för verksamheten och den redan från början tillämpade principen att hålla den centrala verksamheten 'fri' i förhållande till kyrkan."

94. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.79. "Evangeliska sällskapet var en skapelse av brittisk företagsamhet och herrnhutisk lekmannafromhet."

95. Bengt Sundkler, op. cit., p.18. "Initiativet var Patersons och alltså engelskt, men de ledande krafterna inom sällskapet voro herrnhutare eller herrnhutiskt orienterade."

96. Ernst Newman, op. cit., p.21. "Initiativet till dess grundande togs av en skotsk representant for engelsk evangelikalism, och från engelska trosfränder erhöll sällskapet frikostigt understöd."

97. John Paterson, op. cit., p.128.

98. Ninth Annual Report, 1813, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.447.

99. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.133.

100. Sixth Annual Report, 1810, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.228.

101. John Paterson, op. cit., p.137.

102. Ibid., p.154.

103. Ibid., p.151.

104. Ibid., p.154.

42a. See page 162.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTINUING WORK OF MESSRS. HENDERSON AND PATERSON 1812 TO 1826

1. Continued Interest of the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society

   The Visit of Dr. Steinkopff; The Work of Dr. Brunnmark.

2. Founding of the Swedish Bible Society

   The Role of Mr. Paterson; The Growth of Both the Bible Society and the Evangelical Society.

3. Continuing Work of Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson

   Visits made to Sweden in 1814, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1820; Disassociation of the Evangelical Society from the Religious Tract Society; The Effects of Tracts and Bibles.

4. The Changing Scene in Sweden

   Political and Social Changes; The Romantic Era in Literature and Religion.

5. The Rise of Missions in Sweden

   The Evangelical Society and Missions; Its Publication; Earlier Missionary Interest in North and South; Missions in Gothenburg; Bishop Wingård.

Continued Interest of the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society

The Visit of Dr. Steinkopff; The Work of Dr. Drunnmark.

After the departure of both Mr. Henderson and Mr. Paterson from Sweden in 1812, after a stay in that country of four and a half years, the Evangelical Society was seemingly left on its own to get on with its work. And this is just what they did. The number of tracts and Bibles printed and distributed continued to grow and for the next two years we find these figures:[1]

For Tracts:

1813 : 141,703
1814 : 113,089

For Bibles:

1813 :	2,000 Old Testaments	7,000 New Testaments	100 Psalms
1814 :	2,500 Old Testaments	25,000 New Testaments	10,000 Apocrypha

The Old and New Testaments were printed separately because the controversy over the Apocryphal books could not be resolved and it continued to cause problems within the Committee. The old Swedish Bibles had all contained these books, but neither Mr. Henderson nor Mr. Paterson would agree to include them. The Swedes on the committee were divided in their opinions concerning the matter, and after a vote in 1814, the decision to print them separately was made.

In the meantime, neither the Religious Tract Society nor the British and Foreign Bible Society in London had any intention of abandonning or losing contact with the Swedish Society. In the summer of 1812, the Rev. C. F. A. Steinkopff, foreign secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society visited Sweden as part of a tour of the Continent, and

made visits to both Stockholm and Gothenburg. He had little to report from Stockholm, other than to say that the work there proceeded with great spirit. From Gothenburg, on the other hand he had a great deal more to say. He spent several days there with Mr. Henderson, just prior to Mr. Henderson's departure, during which time they discussed at length the spiritual needs of the people there and what might be the next and best procedures to follow. In a letter to the Religious Tract Society dated 22 June, 1812, Dr. Steinkopff wrote: "The Rev. Mr. Henderson and myself conversed with several respectable gentlemen on the best means of concentrating the efforts of the friends of religion and the expediency of printing a periodical publication for communicating important religious intelligence, both domestic and foreign, and engaging the attention of the Christian public to still more active and combined exertions for the promotion of the cause of the Kingdom of God."[2]

Mr. Henderson's biographer quotes a letter from Mr. Henderson (undated and with no salutation) concerning Dr. Steinkopff's visit. "-- I have reason to believe that his visit has not been in vain. His conversations with several persons of high rank relative to the worth of the Holy Scriptures, and the necessity of their circulation and perusal in order to the true happiness of a man in his individual social and political relations, cannot but have been attended by salutary consequences --- He preached in the Garrison Church, and his sermon was, from beginning to end, every way worthy of the Secretary of the Bible Society. --- He began by observing that many useful books had been put into the hands of mankind both in ancient and modern times, but that of all that had ever been published none was to be compared to one Book which generally went under the name of the Bible, or the Holy Scriptures.

It is impossible to describe the effect produced upon the congregation --- The audience looked to the pulpit with amazement as if they stood in doubt whether it was occupied with a man or an angel."[3] Such a speech along with the resulting tremendous impression it made upon the listeners must have done a great deal to further the cause of the Bible in Sweden.

After eight days in Gothenburg, Dr. Steinkopff, together with Mr. Henderson journeyed south to Hälsingborg. Along the way they met many clergymen in the towns through which they passed, giving out tracts. One minister told him, "The eagerness to obtain them is so great that some who were seldom seen in church before, now come to it every Sunday, for fear of losing this acceptable gift."[4] In Hälsingborg they met Mr. Paterson and they, "Spent six days together at a Swedish inn, calmly and maturely surveying the vast field for spiritual cultivation, presenting itself to our view in the three Northern kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway."[5] So even though Mr. Henderson would soon be on his way to Iceland and Mr. Paterson to Russia, they had no wish to leave their present field of endeavor untended.

Dr. Steinkopff's report could only have added to the concern which both the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society felt for the Evangelical Society and its work in Stockholm. So they cast about for someone who could act as their agent to Sweden and promote their cause there. They turned to Dr. Brunnmark, pastor to the Swedish Legation in London. According to Beskow, the British and Foreign Bible Society already had it in mind to "form a general Swedish Bible Society, which would be supported by Bible Societies in the dioceses."[6] And who would be better for this work than Dr. Brunnmark - a native of Sweden who was thoroughly acquainted with the

aims and procedures of the British and Foreign Bible Society?

As a result, Dr. Brunnmark made a visit to Sweden in 1813 - a visit which could only be considered highly successful. Through his efforts two Bible Societies were founded - one in Gothenburg, the other in Västerås - and the ground work laid for a third society in Visby on the island of Gotland. He visited many other cities, urging the ministers in those cities to form Bible societies, and giving out much money, provided by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to help in the effort. He wrote: "In the course of my journey, I visited several clergymen in the interior, and they all rejoiced to hear the good news I brought them. Bibles were, in general, very scarce. When a copy was sold at an auction, it fetched even ten rix dollars; they will now get them for two rix dollars, and the poor for much less."[7] From the preceding, one begins to get a fairly clear picture of what was happening. Many country as well as city ministers were now faced with a possibility of placing both tracts and Bibles in the hands of their parishioners, many of whom they considered to be in great need of spiritual awakening. This, in itself is a silent witness to what many of the clergy thought the spiritual efficacy of both tracts and Bibles to be! Now not only were tracts and Bibles available at a cheap price, but money too could be forthcoming so that this availability would extend even to the poor people. And if the words of the minister south of Gothenburg were true, the distribution of the tracts was providing an incentive to attend church on Sunday, at which time the tracts were to be had. Is it any wonder that a new excitement was growing in religious circles?

The following year, 1814, Dr. Brunnmark left his work in London to resettle permanently in Sweden. Again he agreed to act as a

representative for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the reports he sent back to London were gratifying indeed. The success of the first three Bible societies - Gothenburg, Visby and Västerås - formed through his efforts - had spread quickly, and bishops as well as ministers both in Stockholm and in other parts of the country were eager to form such societies. From Gothenburg he wrote: "The Society in this place has been very active, and deserves truly the name of an Auxiliary to that in Stockholm. They have collected above 5000 rix dollars Banco, the greater part of which they have sent to the Stockholm Society, from whom they have lately ordered a fresh supply of 1000 Bibles, and 500 New Testaments; for all which they have paid before hand."[8]

His next report was sent from Västerås, in which he wrote: "-- Besides the 200 Bibles, 500 New Testaments they received from the British and Foreign Bible Society, have themselves bought 1100 Bibles, 500 New Testaments, and 100 ditto, with Latin types, for German Schools, all of the authorized version."[9]

When Dr. Brunnmark finally arrived in Stockholm, it was to find that the work of the Evangelical Society was going forward at a great pace. He wrote: "You will no doubt with me be astonished to find, that the Society have now printed 33,600 New Testaments, and that a new edition is preparing of 6000, for which paper and everything is ready. They have further printed 11,000 Bibles, and a fourth edition is now working off, 22 sheets being already finished."[10]

Founding of the Swedish Bible Society

The Role of Mr. Paterson; The growth of both the Bible Society and the Evangelical Society.

While the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society in London were maintaining their contacts with the Stockholm society, both Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson were, so to speak, keeping a hand in. More than that, they continued to advise and work not only with the Evangelical Society but also with the new Bible societies. The fact that both men were now engaged in the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society in other parts of northern Europe did not prevent either of them from making several visits to Sweden in the next few years. There is no record of either man visiting Sweden in 1813, but both were there in 1814.

Mr. Paterson arrived in Stockholm on the 20th of February, 1814, after a strenuous journey from Russia. At this time, he paid a visit to Count Rosenblad, now president of the Evangelical Society, the account of which we have only by Mr. Paterson's own hand. Because of the content of this conversation with its remarkable consequences, and because it is not to be found in any other account, this rather lengthy report of the conversation is quoted here, as told by Mr. Paterson in his memoirs.

> "Having made myself acquainted with the present state of the Evangelical Society, I represented to him that the time was come when the Bible department of the Evangelical Society ought to be separated from the tract department, and that the publication of religious tracts ought to be left to the Evangelical Society, according to its first intentions, and the statutes it had received from the King; but that for the circulation of the Scriptures, they ought to have a national or Swedish Bible Society, whose sole object should be to publish and circulate the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, the same as the

> British and Foreign Bible Society, and kindred institutions in various countries. I urged that this had now become absolutely necessary, seeing Bible societies on the right plan had been formed in Gothenburg, Westeras, and Wisby, in the Island of Gothland, which ought all to be auxiliary to the Parent Society in Stockholm; and I argued that this would lead to the formation of auxiliaries in all parts of the kingdom, and prove the means of augmenting their funds, and giving a wider circulation to the copies of the Scriptures published by the Parent Society. Of all this his excellency saw the propriety, and even absolute necessity. I accordingly prepared a memorial, in which all these considerations were fully stated, and drew up statutes for the proposed Swedish Bible Society. These I placed in the hand of the Count, to lay before the Committee of the Evangelical Society, which he did. My proposals were adopted, and measures put in train for carrying them into effect as soon as the sanction of the Government should be obtained.
>
> But although I had thus laid the foundation of the national Bible Society in Sweden, I could not now stop to see its actual formation, for which time was required. I carried a copy of my memorial and statutes with me to England, and finding that Dr. Brunnmark was about to visit Sweden in the summer, I showed him my plan, and begged he would endeavour to get it carried into effect. He arrived in Stockholm about the end of June, and everything being previously arranged, or nearly so, he, along with the secretary, the Rev. John Watterdahl, my intimate friend, put a finishing hand to the institution of the new society under a new name, with a more defined field of operations, and more expansive powers."[11]

This is a most interesting piece of information, particularly in view of the fact that all but one of the historians have chosen to ignore it - or have possibly been ignorant of its existence, although the latter possibility is highly unlikely. Beskow, who wrote the first major history of the Swedish Bible Society gives, strangely, no background whatsoever for its formation other than his short statement saying that the British and Foreign Bible Society intended to form a Bible Society in Sweden. Just exactly when this idea first came into being is not known. But as has been seen, it was in Mr. Paterson's thinking

as early as February of 1814, and he, within the following month took it to London. Certainly by the time of the special committee meeting of the Evangelical Society on 9 July it was fully known that the British Society did have such plans in mind. Paragraph two of the minutes of that meeting includes the following statement: "Authorization by one of the London Bible Society's Secretaries, Mr. John Tarn, and those undersigned was read, in which the Bible Committee commissions the doctor (Dr. Brunnmark), during his visit to Sweden to take such measures and steps, that would seem the most suitable to promote the establishment of a Bible Society, separate from the Evengelical Society ---."[12] This authorization, addressed to the Committee of the Evangelical Society is to be found among a number of loose papers and letters in the back of the minute book for 1814. This would seem definite proof that plans for a Swedish Bible Society were under way at least since early spring. And perhaps this intention of the London Society is what Dr. Steinkopff was referring to in a letter to the Evangelical Society as early as 13 May. In it he mentions the coming visit of Dr. Brunnmark to Sweden and states: "Concerning all other points and wishes of our Committee, Dr. Brunnmark will personally speak with you ---."[13]

But whether or not Beskow was aware of these plans, he deals not at all with the years, and particularly the months immediately preceding July of 1814. The question remains unanswered as to why he has chosen to omit completely what can only be considered a most important area in the history of the Swedish Bible Society. As to the actual formation of the society, he merely states: "At a meeting of the Evangelical Society on 9 July, 1814, Brunnmark suggested that a Swedish Bible Society should be founded and put forth a motion for the statutes

thereof."[14] A later history published in 1967 uses practically the same words, and likewise fails to give any information concerning reasons for forming a separate Bible Society. Liedgren varies his account to say: "Brunnmark had just put forth the suggestion of a Swedish Bible Society in Stockholm at an extra meeting of the Evangelical Society."[15] How very strange indeed that not one of these men has seen fit to so much as mention Mr. Paterson's story - or even that he had anything at all to do with the matter.

There is, however, one account which includes some of the background of the formation of the Bible Society in Sweden. Edvard Rodhe wrote a short history of the society (in two parts) which appeared in the Swedish Church History Annual for 1907-1908. The first part gives a brief history of both John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson - their education, their beliefs, their work in Denmark and some of their work in Sweden. The larger part of the second part is devoted to the work of Dr. Brunnmark in the cause of Bible Societies in Sweden. Unfortunately, there are several small inaccuracies and contradictions as well as opinions stated so as to appear as fact in this article, so that it is impossible here to allow this work to stand as a basis for history. On the one hand, Rodhe is generous in his praise of both men, and his final judgment of Mr. Paterson, while limited, is not unkind: "The origin of the Evangelical Society in Stockholm is, in large part, his work, as it was he who gathered together those interested and organized them. It was also he who led the society's work into those paths upon which it later worked with such zeal and to such great success, in that he brought about the connections with the large English societies through whose financial support tract and Bible distribution first became possible."[16]

On the other hand, while it can also be said in Mr. Rodhe's favor that he is the only historian to so much as acknowledge Mr. Paterson's own account of his part in the formation of the Swedish Bible Society, he does not accept it. He writes: "The one who originally came up with the plan was possibly Paterson, as he himself states that it was he who first pointed out the necessity to make a complete separation between tract and Bible distribution --- and that he had shared this plan with Brunnmark at their meeting during Paterson's trip to Sweden and England in 1814. It is possible that Paterson is right, but by no means can one push Brunnmark into the background when it concerns the constitution of the Swedish Bible Society, as Paterson seems to want to do."[17] After reading Mr. Paterson's account, this final statement concerning Dr. Brunnmark is difficult to explain by any other term than prejudicial.

Unfortunately, the minutes of the meeting of the committee of the Evangelical Society on the 1 March, 1814, during Mr. Paterson's stay in Stockholm, as well as minutes for the next few months make no mention of any plans or suggestions for the formation of a Bible Society. Inasmuch as Mr. Paterson's name is listed among those present at the 1 March meeting, one can only surmise that he and Count Rosenblad either changed their minds about presenting the idea at that meeting, or that Mr. Paterson's memory did not serve him accurately when he wrote his memoirs many years later. There is, however, included among the sundry papers and letters in the back of the minute book, a set of papers titled "Some Projected Paragraphs as Constitution of the Swedish Bible Society in Stockholm." (Några Projecterade § § vid Constitution af Svenska Bibel Sällskapet i Stockholm.) These papers, written in what is unquestionably Mr. Paterson's hand lay out in rough form the

rules and statutes for a Bible Society. They are neither dated nor signed.

Also to be found among the papers at the back of the minute book is another set of papers in a hand which is identical to that of the committee's secretary, John Waetterdahl, which are a reworked copy of Mr. Paterson's rough constitution. A copy of this set of papers then appears in the minutes of the July meeting as part of the permanent record. In view of this, does it not seem strange that Mr. Rodhe, who has carefully documented his article did not see fit to acknowledge these evidences which vastly increase the credibility of Mr. Paterson's account? Surely to do so would not have minimized Dr. Brunnmark's work or in any way have pushed him into the background.

One other account which involves the formation of the Bible Society, that of Dr. Ribbner, should be mentioned here. He explores the situation in another area - that of internal reasons for the division. He builds an entirely different case, omitting the involvement of either the British and Foreign Bible Society or John Paterson. According to him, the reformed nature of the tracts lay, in large part, at the heart of the matter, causing not only contention within the committee, but also gaining for the Evangelical Society a reputation for separatism - tantamount to anathema in that day. He writes: "It is, however, obvious that the most important reason for the division lay in the tendency towards separatism, which the Evangelical Society showed through its uncontrolled mass distribution of tracts through ministers and laymen. This tendency was not visible in the Bible Society, whose work was controlled by bishops and chapters."[18] The fact that the tracts stressed conversion as the one thing necessary for salvation - the only means by which mankind could escape eternal damnation was a

real problem. This was not Lutheran! But if the latter part of the statement were true, it is difficult to understand. The majority of the men serving on the committee of the new Bible Society were the same men who continued to serve on the committee of the Evangelical Society. Moreover, as was stated in the last chapter, in 1814 there were ten bishops sitting on the Committee of the Evangelical Society.

That Dr. Brunnmark did get Mr. Paterson's plan carried into effect as he had been requested has been well recorded. It is interesting to note that, according to Dr. Brunnmark's own account, he did not arrive in Stockholm until after the 25th of June - only two weeks previous to the meeting on 9 July. At that time, he called upon Count Rosenblad at his country home, several miles south of Stockholm. He remained there several days and had many conversations with the Count and writes: "He entered very minutely into the whole plan with me."[19] Although he does not say what that plan was, the evidence of Mr. Tarn's letter of 9 May authorizing Dr. Brunnmark to take the necessary steps to form a Bible society leave little doubt as to what it was. Moreover, as several letters written by Dr. Brunnmark to the Bible Society in London during these weeks are large concerned with founding Bible societies in Sweden, one can quite naturally expect that here too he is speaking of a Bible society. A little further on he adds: 'Several bishops have already sent in applications from their Dioceses to the Society."[20] It is clear from this statement that plans for founding a Bible society must have been known well before Dr. Brunnmark's arrival. Applications to "the Society" could hardly have been received before its actual inception had not some previous plans already been under way and known in dioceses outside of Stockholm. And

while "the Society" may possibly have referred to the Evangelical Society, it is highly unlikely inasmuch as the Evangelical Society did not accept applications for auxiliary societies. Therefore these applications must have had reference to something else. So it would seem that the existence of a Bible Society in Sweden before 9 July was de facto - not only in Dr. Brunnmark's thinking, but in the minds of many others in Sweden as well. In writing to the British and Foreign Bible Society from Gothenburg on 3 June, Dr. Brunnmark praises the Bible Society of Gothenburg saying: "The Society in this place has been very active, and deserves truly the name of an Auxiliary to that in Stockholm."[21]

The time of Dr. Brunnmark's arrival in Stockholm is also significant in this matter. It should be noted that his discussions with Count Rosenblad had begun a scant two weeks before the meeting in July. It would have been impossible in that length of time, in a day when mail and news travelled much more slowly than today, for the news of the anticipated formation of such a society to have spread to the farther dioceses, and applications to have been returned. Furthermore, for the same reasons, completed plans along with rules and regulations could hardly have been begun, discussed with the many Committee members and finalized for presentation on 9 July in less than two weeks' time.

It is also significant that two years later a report was sent to the British and Foreign Bible Society from the first annual meeting of the Swedish Bible Society in which the following statement appears: "The foundation of Bible Institutions out of Stockholm, was chiefly laid by the late Rev. Dr. Brunnmark."[22] The report goes on to speak of Dr. Brunnmark's further contributions in forming Bible societies in various

parts of Sweden, but at no time is he mentioned in connection with the founding of the Stockholm Society - a significant omission, especially by his contemporaries. So while the historians credit Dr. Brunnmark with the founding of the Swedish Bible Society (while not outright stating that Dr. Brunnmark was the founder, the implication is unmistakable), a closer look at the total picture would lend strong support to Mr. Paterson's own account and accord him credence and ample credit in the founding of that society. Dr. Brunnmark did not live to see the new society actually come into being. He died on the 1 August, less than a month after he had made his suggestion.

Continuing Work of Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson

> Visits made to Sweden in 1814, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1820; Disassociation of the Evangelical Society from the Religious Tract Society; The Effects of Tracts and Bibles.

In September of 1814, Mr. Paterson was again in Stockholm, making a stop there on his way back to Russia. He found there two societies, both flourishing. In a letter dated 27 September, 1814, he wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society: "The demand for the Scriptures increases daily; the Society cannot nearly support it. The stock of paper and of printed copies which would be necessary, far exceeds their means; surely no person will now tell us that there was no want of Bibles in Sweden."[23] One gets the feeling from that final clause, that Mr. Paterson had not forgotten his earlier disagreement with the Society Pro Fide et Christianismo. He found that his old friends, Count Rosenblad and the Rev. John Waetterdahl were now president and secretary respectively of both organizations, and most of his other old friends were working in both societies along with new members. He wrote in his journal: "My visit at this time was useful in maturing

the plans of the National Society, and placing them on a right footing with the Evangelical Society, so as to ensure their going on comfortably together and yet separate."[24]

The Bible Society was in immediate need of funds as well as other help for their work. Such funds were forthcoming in the form of a gift in the amount of 2,400 rix dollars banco from the crown prince and a donation of 500 English pounds from the British and Foreign Bible Society, thereby strengthening their continued support. Moreover, the Evangelical Society, "Not only delivered over to your committee all the standing Bible types, but also Bibles and printing paper, together with cash, amounting to more than 17,000 rix dollars."[25] Perhaps this was the result of the help given by Mr. Paterson - to ensure comfortable progress.

Before long, requests for Bibles were pouring in from many places - schools, prisons, institutions, hospitals, the navy and from various regiments in the army. There was even formed in Gothenburg, through the influence of Cornelius Rahmn, a Bible Society for children, considered to be the first such in the world. In addition to his duties as chaplain to the Royal Artillery stationed there, Rahm was also Headmaster of Prince Oscar's School, a school for the children of the soldiers in the barracks. At a weekly examination of his pupils in the autumn of 1814, Mr. Rahmn told them about the Bible Society. The children became so interested that they decided to take an offering for this Society. Not long after that, they told their master that they wished to form a Bible Society themselves. The result was: "He called together interested students for a meeting on the 8 July, 1815 and rules for the establishing of the Gothenburg Auxiliary Bible Society were adopted."[26]

That Mr. Paterson continued to concern himself with the work of the Evangelical Society is also known through a report from the secretary of that society to the Religious Tract Society, dated 7 October, 1814. It read: "Permit me also more especially to beg you will offer the respects and gratitude of our Committee for the last donation of £20. I cannot, however, yet inform you, that we have been enabled to make use of it for the intended purpose, (this money had been granted to encourage them to begin a series of tracts for Hawkers) but that as soon as the Rev. Mr. Paterson has sent us a plan of what is to be done, and we have modified it, so as to suit our local circumstances, you will find everything proceeding to your satisfaction."[27] With such a report as supporting evidence, there can be no doubt at all that Mr. Paterson was still assisting the direction and progress of these societies.

In 1815, Mr. Henderson was again in Sweden, this time to give assistance to the newly formed Bible Society in Lund. He wrote to Mr. Paterson: "It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform you ... that an institution of a similar nature with other Bible societies, was established at this university on the 10th inst. ... The Bishop himself (the Right Rev. Bishop Faxe) was then chosen President. Dr. Wahlin (the Archdeacon) Vice-President, Dr. Hagberg and Prost Hellstenius, Secretaries; and as members of the Committee, Professors Norbert, Hylander, Engelhart, etc. etc."[28] Mr. Henderson's biographer adds this statement: "Such a galaxy of brilliant names must not be passed by."[29] And indeed it should not - but not just because the names are brilliant. This list gives an indication of the high favor in exalted circles within the Swedish Church in which the Bible societies now stood. Hagberg was professor of Theology; Hellstenius was a

well-known minister; Dr. Engelhart was professor of medicine at the university and Hylander was Regius Professor of Divinity.

At the same time, it should be remembered that not all the bishops or churchmen were immediately or easily won over to the work of the Bible Society. In a letter to Archbishop Lindblom from Bishop Almquist in Stockholm dated 6 November, 1816 is written: "What has broken out in the Swedish congregations was in general not the WORD but the Spirit."[30] Professor Ödmann in Uppsala was outright skeptical. He wrote to a friend: "One distributes thousands of Bibles, but no one reads. If anyone does read, he doesn't understand. The peasant would dig ditches for a day rather than read. If he does read his Bible, he sticks with Samson and Goliath."[31]

In this same letter Mr. Henderson also stated: "I proposed the erection of Branch Societies in Malmö, Landscrona, etc., and also where practicable, Bible associations."[32] And in this way, Mr. Henderson too continued to work in Sweden, contributing to the growth of Bible societies in that land.

There is no evidence that either Mr. Henderson or Mr. Paterson visited Sweden in 1816. But Mr. Paterson's continuing interest and guidance could be found through his correspondence. A society having been formed in Lund the previous year, Mr. Paterson was anxious that a society also be formed in Uppsala, the other great university town. He wrote in his Journal: "On the 3rd of April I also wrote to Upsala, to the Archbishop of Sweden, Dr. Lindblom, on the same subject, promising that, if they formed an auxiliary, the English Society would assist them with a grant of £300; and in order to induce him to use his influence for this purpose, I got the Committee in London to send him a set of their

versions, elegantly bound."[33] It would seem that Mr. Paterson was not above using a bit of gentle persuasion!

And in this case, the persuasion bore the hoped-for fruit. Later in that year Mr. Paterson wrote: "Under the date of the 24th October, I had a letter from Archbishop Lindblom, giving an account of the formation of a Bible Society at Upsala. I was also gratified by learning that my friend, the Bishop of Hernösand, had formed a Bible Society for his diocese."[34] And further on he adds: "Thus from the furthest north to the furthest south, Sweden was covered by Bible societies. The demand for the Scriptures was so great, that the Society in Stockholm could not satisfy them, and they were obliged greatly to enlarge their printing office."[35] It must have been with enormous satisfaction and joy that he penned the above words. His goal of spreading the Word of God among all the people of Sweden was well on its way to being accomplished.

This was also true concerning the tracts, whose publication and distribution had preceded that of the Bibles. In a lone communication from the Evangelical Society to the Religious Tract Society in 1817, this glowing report was made: "A more general interest in the Society's object has been recently excited throughout the kingdom. We have, in almost every town active correspondents, who distribute the Tracts most extensively. Our tracts are now sent to the most remote corners of the kingdom, where they are received with eagerness, and read with the deepest attention. Several noblemen of distinction, professors, and others have shown themselves zealous in this good cause. Some of our Bishops are decidedly favourable, and almost all of them have taken part in the work and have especially promoted the circulation of our Tracts among the youth attending the places of learning in their

respective Dioceses."[36] From the year 1808, beginning with a small group of interested men desiring to see their countrymen awakened to a living faith in God, to that place in time eight and a half years later when a statement such as the above could be made by those same men, had been given countless hours of work committed to the accomplishment of their purpose. They could well share in the same joy and satisfaction as Mr. Paterson!

Mr. Henderson next returned to Sweden in 1817, visiting the societies in both Västerås and Akersund, from which cities he sent reports of growth and expansion. He then proceeded to Stockholm. His joy in what he found there can be seen in a letter he sent from that city dated 15 September. He wrote: "--- I must do that country the justice to say, that I know of no country on the Continent of Europe where the interest taken in the cause is more the effect of conviction - the expression of what is really felt in the heart, of the necessity and importance of the undertaking. The different auxiliaries are vying with each other, which shall most speedily and effectually ascertain and supply the want of the Holy Scriptures, which prevails to a greater or lesser extent within their respective bounds; and some of them are projecting, or have already commenced the establishment of parochial Associations, after the example of the Bible Society of Lund."[37]

Mr. Paterson too visited Sweden in 1817, but earlier in the year, arriving in time to attend the meeting of the Committee of the Swedish Bible Society on 4 March. In another outburst of joy he wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society: "A More numerous or brilliant Committee Meeting I have never witnessed. It is easy to conceive my feelings, when I compared it with the first meeting of a few humble

individuals, in an upper chamber, exactly nine years ago, which laid the foundation of all that is now doing in Sweden. Three of these individuals, besides myself, were present on this occasion, and rejoiced with me in contemplating what the Lord, who despised not our day of small things, hath wrought."[38] From Stockholm, he proceeded to the diocese of Skara where he met with the Bishop and his committee. A society for this diocese had recently been formed and as this was its first meeting, its constitution was presented. As usual, Mr. Paterson was there to guide and help, writing: "The manner in which they should proceed in their future operations was fully discussed. They needed much information, which I endeavoured to give them, as far as was in my power."[39]

He then travelled to Härnösand to visit the Bishop and "made arrangements with him for supplying his diocese better with copies of the Scriptures, and promised to obtain a grant for this purpose from the British and Foreign Bible Society."[40] Next, he went to Uppsala from where he wrote: "I was received by the venerable Archbishop with open arms. He immediately called a meeting of the Committee, to arrange with me about forming Bible associations in every parish in his diocese."[41] This must have seemed a sweet victory to Mr. Paterson, considering the earlier negative pressures upon the Archbishop.

Perhaps it was just this situation which helped raise his hopes for even greater achievements. For at the end of this long report in 1817, he wrote: "Bible Associations are forming in different parts of the kingdom, and we may soon expect to hear of them in almost every parish. It is pleasing to be able to state, that the good effects intended to be produced by Bible Societies, in reforming the morals of the people, and in begetting and confirming religious habits, are most visible in

many parts of this country. Indeed, I doubt if so much real good has been done in any country by the institution of Bible Societies as in Sweden. The good that has been produced there, is more than a reward for all that has been done to promote the cause of truth among them; and affords much encouragement to us all, not to be weary in well doing, confident that in due time we shall reap, if we faint not."[42] This bit of evaluation on the part of Mr. Paterson himself is not out of order and was made by a man well-equipped to make it.

While in Stockholm, Mr. Paterson also attended the meeting of the Committee of the Evangelical Society, hoping to obtain a report to bring back to the Religious Tract Society in London. Since the official separation in 1815 from the Bible Society, ties between the Evangelical Society and the Religious Tract Society had been deteriorating, and by now barely existed. This is evidenced by the dearth of information from the Swedish Society to be found in the records of the Religious Tract Society. Ribbner points it up sharply, stating: "After 1815 ... they no longer maintained the connections with the Religious Tract Society in London."[43] The main reason for this was the aforementioned growing dissatisfaction, not only within the Committee, but in many parts of the country with the reformed nature of the English tracts. That the tracts were Christo-centric was not the problem. It was, rather, their insistance on conversion as essential to salvation that came more and more into question. The determination of Rev. Waetterdahl that conversion should continue to be the dominant theme of the tracts soon caused sharp friction within the Committee, and before long, a real storm was brewing. Many of the others felt that the tracts should be more Lutheran in nature - "Totally in agreement with God's Holy Word and the Church's Confession."[44]

The unhappy result of this was that in 1816 and 1817 no English tracts were published. Although there is no official report from Mr. Paterson to the Religious Tract Society on the matter, it is known that when he returned to Stockholm on his way back to Russia, "He delivered to the Committee a large number of tracts, missionary tales and other writings. But no money."[45] The Religious Tract Society was not about to change any of its policies, much less its theological position. And the very fact that no money was forthcoming from London was loud testimony to a rift in relations. In this situation, Mr. Paterson was evidently unable to be of much help. But in spite of these problems, the work of the Society continued successfully to a peak year in 1820, in which a total number of 156,000 tracts were distributed.[46] After this year, the activity of the Society diminished disastrously for a period of about four years. In-fighting on the Committee over almost every question that arose prevented work from going forward - the reformed nature of the tracts remained the major stumbling block and had by now alienated many of the clergy. This work was not to be revived until the next decade.

Mr. Henderson was next in Sweden in 1819, in which year he was to visit that country twice. In January he arrived in Lund, and after a short visit to the Bible Society there, he proceeded to Karlskrona, a town on the south coast of Sweden, and home of the Swedish navy. He made many visits in the town, and in a letter to his wife he wrote: "--- I expect to be able to do something on a grand scale for the Bible cause. Here is ample scope; upwards of 7000 belonging to the Admiralty to be supplied with Bibles."[47] On 2 February his work bore fruit in the formation of the Swedish Naval Bible Society. In a letter to the British and Foreign Bible Society on 29 March, Count Rosenblad

wrote: "I cannot sufficiently praise the good and zealous behaviour of Dr. Henderson on that occasion."[48] As a result, the British society immediately granted their aid to the new society in a gift of £200. Following this, Mr. Henderson visited the societies in Växiö and Kalmar. At the latter town, he attended the first general meeting of the newly formed Bible Society there.

Mr. Henderson's second visit to Sweden in 1819, and his last trip to that country for many years was in May of that year and was only a means to travel from Denmark to Norway. The day after leaving Gothenburg, he was injured in an accident, returned to Gothenburg where the broken bones were set, and then sent to try the baths at Uddevalla, where he remained for six weeks. There is no record of Mr. Henderson's activities during this time.

Mr. Paterson was next in Sweden in the autumn of 1820, visiting various Bible societies, giving them advice and support. On 9 October he wrote from Stockholm: "The Swedish Bible Society goes on its way with steadfastness; so much so that I find it unnecessary to propose anything by way of improvement. The Committee understand their work, and they have persons able and willing to conduct it."[49] He did not, however, permit such brilliant success to blind him, for in the next sentence he wrote: "The society in Carlstadt claims your particular attention ... their poverty is so great, that they can do little of themselves to furnish the many thousand families there with the Bible who are without it, and are so poor as to be utterly unable to pay for it."[50] And of Växiö he wrote: "There is a tract where the people are extremely poor, destitute of Bibles and need assistance. Fifty pounds would do much good among them."[51] One remarkable fact Mr. Paterson failed to report. That fact was that by 1819 there existed an

auxiliary Bible society in every diocese except that of Strängnäs. The reason for this was not any anti-Bible Society feeling - there were several small local societies scattered about the diocese. The reason lay in the fact that Bishop Tingstadius had for many years been working on a new translation of the Bible and he didn't want his diocese flooded with Bibles of the old translation. Mr. Paterson had visited Bishop Tingstadius during his visit to Sweden in 1819 hoping to persuade him to give his sanction to the Bible Society, but he did not succeed. There was not to be a diocesan Bible Society in Strängnäs until1839.

In the eight years since they had left Sweden, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Paterson had both returned to that country year after year, to advise and assist, seemingly never content to ride on successes, but continually working to develop and improve the work they had begun there. Although little is to be found in written praise of their work, it is evident that their assistance and advice as well as their mediation for the purpose of securing funds from the London Societies were not only welcome and appreciated, but needed and sought. But from this time on, the two men no longer made regular visits to Sweden. They no doubt felt, as Mr. Paterson had written in 1820, that the Bible Society was now well able to look after itself, and that should the Committee encounter problems they could not solve by themselves, they could easily correspond with London directly for help. What they thought about, or had in mind for the Evangelical Society is not known.

It would be foolish to deny that the tracts and their evangelical message had a definite influence upon the spiritual awakenings that were beginning at this time. As Dr. Ribbner says, "There is a correlation between tract distribution and revival. Tracts were spread as

awakening appeals ..."[52] While as yet there was no great revival movement in Sweden, small revivals kept cropping up in many parts of the country, especially where the tracts were being read. And they were being read by the thousands. Since the outset in 1808, well over a million tracts had been distributed. Their message was known and approved by many members of the clergy and their preaching was colored by it. Stern lectures on morals, long the ideal, were now frowned upon, and instead, a sermon was expected to be an outpouring of the very soul of the minister, verily inspired by God. Moreover, the sermons had to be Bible-based. Since the Bible was becoming increasingly available to large sections of the population through the work of the many new Bible societies, many in the congregations not only placed a high value on that book, but through their own study of it were gaining a fair knowledge of what was in it. The preacher was, therefore, now put on his mettle concerning the holy book and its contents, and was expected to be able to back up any statement with the proper reference - something he was frequently called upon to do! Such Bible-centered sermons found great favor with the congregations. The colporteurs, who with their books and tracts visited the small villages and remote farms, began to increase in number. This resulted in an increase in the "läsare" (lay readers) who quickly formed conventicles. And these conventicles now often met without fear of being reported, or of reprisal if reported. This was not true in all cases, depending upon the position of the local minister on the matter, but there was a definite softening on the part of many clergymen.

The Changing Scene in Sweden

Political and Social Changes; The Romantic Era in Literature and Religion.

There were, in fact, many changes in all areas of life in Sweden at this time, and all had their effect on the religious life of the people. The political scene was undergoing a great change. There was a new crown prince whose youthful energy and drive gave great hope to the people. Even more important, there was the promise of a lasting peace. Wars had for so many years drained the country of its wealth and manpower. This had brought about unbelievable poverty in most parts of the country so that the people had learned to hate the very thought of war. The hope of peace therefore was sweet comfort indeed. The need for national defense was recognized, but only the nobility would vote for compulsory military training - both the clergy and the common folk were against it.

Patriotism grew and soon became synonomous with freedom and justice. It was taught in the schools along with civic duty. Ministers stressed it in their sermons. Swedish traditions and Swedish customs rose in popularity. It was reflected in the literature of the day as well as in the religion, giving rise to what is now called the Romantic Era of the century. The writings of the two greatest literary men of the time, Geiger and Tegnér can inspire strong feelings of patriotism in Swedish hearts even today. It brought into being a whole new line of thinking among the clergy. The earlier fascination with the pragmatism of the German Enlightenment was waning and the popular Neology was diminishing. A growing admiration for the new German idealists - Goethe, Schiller and the Schlegels was evident. The whole has been summed up by Liedgren: "A certain proud inspiration of the spirit, an attraction

to other-worldliness, to an unselfish endeavor towards a higher goal than 'success, bread and honor' was awakening confidence in the truth of spiritual power and the indispensability of ethical standards."[53]

This new Romanticism contained, in the field of religion, an element of joy and of harmony with creation that fit well in with the happy spirit of Herrnhutism, and so found ingress into the thinking of the many clergymen who were so inclined. A study of the classics was now considered indispensible for an educated man. Both of these ideas were strongly reflected in the preaching. Two further ideas were of particular interest - eternal life, and nature and man's relationship to it. Here now were subjects that quickly caught the interest of the ordinary man in the church pew - he had an insatiable curiosity about the hereafter, and he could easily identify with the latter. It was relatively easy to see God revealed in nature all about one, and thereby to sense an affinity with the Divine. A next step to a realization of God's holiness and man's unworthiness was not difficult to take, and from there, the need for reconciliation to God was easily acknowledged. And these steps, of course, were all a part of the path to the eternal City of Heaven - the ultimate goal. Here too, was a meeting point with the thinking of the British Evangelicals. And before long, it seemed as though all the various schools of thought were able to agree on at least one point - sometimes more. Liedgren states: "This harmony, by no means reached and upheld without struggle, is a result of unusually happily cooperative factors : singular conditions of the times, rich spiritual streams and significant individual powers. Never before or since in our land have the classical-hellenic, the Gotish-patriotic, the romantic German and the Biblical Christian inheritances been so able to unite and be mutually balanced as during the second and third decades of the 19th century."[54]

The Rise of Missions in Sweden

The Evangelical Society and Missions; Its Publication; Earlier Missionary Interest in North and South; Mission in Gothenburg; Bishop Wingård.

Another interesting factor now began to make itself known. In Britain, evangelical revivals and a growth of interest in Christianity had been followed by a tremendous surge of missionary activity. It is a unique characteristic of Christianity that once acknowledged and accepted, it must be shared in order to remain vitally alive. This same missionary interest now began to surface in Christian circles in Sweden, simultaneously with the revivals. It was evidenced by Geiger who, in a speech in 1817 for the 300-year Reformation Celebration aspired to "-- 'the boldest hopes' in connection with the achievements of missions in far parts of the earth."[55] This author goes on to say, "Thus here the intimate liaison between tract - Bible -- and mission interest stand out."[56]

Chiefly through the efforts of its secretary, the Rev. Johan Waetterdahl, who was greatly interested in missions, the Evangelical Society decided earlier that same year to publish a missionary magazine. The matter came into question at a meeting of the Committee on the 25 February - the meeting at which, as has been previous been noted, Mr. Paterson was present. And this should come as no surprise. He had been the force behind the formation of the Evangelical Society : his mind and heart were largely responsible for the Bible Society : does it not seem only natural, then, that he would be present as another new movement begins to stir within the Christian community in Sweden?

As a result of this meeting and its decision, a weekly magazine, Information about Evangelical Success in all Parts of the World

(Underrättelser om Evangelii Framgång i Alla Werldsdelar) was born, its first issue appearing in January, 1818. Rev. Waetterdahl, who was much involved with the Society of Brethren and dedicated to the idea of missions, was its editor. A large portion of the articles which appeared in the magazine was taken from the British publications - the Missionary Register, the Missionary Herald, and the Evangelical Magazine. A few articles from the German paper, Latest News of the Kingdom of God (Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes) were also included. Waetterdahl was sharply criticized by his friends and co-workers for the strong British flavor of the paper, but he had no real alternative. The British societies were the richest source of information on missions. The Herrnhut Brethren, with whom so many of the men in the Evangelical Society were involved had for many years been interested in missions, but they had only a quarterly publication called General News (Gemeinnachrichten) which, although translated into Swedish, was circulated only among their own members. For a time, Rev. Waetterdahl edited this paper, but in 1820 turned that job over to the Rev. C. F. Haggman, who was to work tirelessly in the cause of missions.

The new Swedish weekly never became very popular, and by 1825 it had had to retrench and became only a monthly publication, changing its name to Uriel. This move didn't help, and by 1827 the magazine was abandoned. It is quite probable that the very unpopularity of the Evangelical Society and its British evangelical flavor had something to do with this failure. During this time, Rev. Waetterdahl had also made some attempts to found a missionary society in Stockholm, but this too failed. His disappointment can be read in his statement: "It will not work to gather a mission fund for a society in Sweden. No! The Swedes hold on tight!"[57] In the meantime, the magazine had not been

entirely without some influence and Sundkler states: "... had without doubt played a not insignificant role in the spreading of missionary knowledge and missionary interest in those circles that came under the influence of the Evangelical Society."[58]

This was not, incidentally, the first Swedish magazine published in the interest of Christian Missions. The Magazine for Evangelical Biblical Christendom (Magazin for Evangelisk Biblisk Christendom) was put out in Kristianstad and Karlskrona in southern Sweden between 1813 and 1815. But it too was short-lived. However, the spirit of missions was very much alive in this area. Professor Hylander at the University of Lund continued to be closely associated with the Herrnhut group and therefore most interested in missions. Through his teaching, many of the young men studying for the ministry were influenced and well-informed on the subject. The result of this was that their congregations gained a knowledge of missions, their interest was aroused, and many of them were known to have taken up missions offerings and sent them to the Herrnhut Missionary Institute in Germany.

Much of this growing interest in missions was centered in the Bible and Evangelical Societies. This is not to be wondered at as a large number of the members of their committees were men associated with the Herrnhut group in Stockholm, and therefore already mission-oriented. The message of many of the tracts carried either an implication of missions or a direct command to tell others the Good News. Many individual instances of interest in missions from all parts of Sweden are related by Sundkler, and a large percentage of them stemmed either from the message of the tracts, or from some connection with Herrnhut groups. A large number of these anecdotes originate in northern Sweden, which makes it quite plain that this interest was growing

throughout the entire country. The very first contribution to missions in Sweden, came from a Michael Lundmark in Skellefteå parish (in the north) who, in the spring of 1820 sent 100 rix dollars to the Evangelical Society "to be used for the announced Evangelism for Jews and Heathen."[59]

Missions had also long been of great interest in the area of Gothenburg. As has been earlier noted, the city had been a center for foreigners passing through when it was the only open port during the Napoleonic wars, and many missionaries stopped there for a while. It had been the center of activity of Ebenezer Henderson, himself a missionary. Mr. Henderson's close friend Cornelius Rahmn, who became a missionary for the London Missionary Society in 1817 had been a minister there as well as headmaster of Prince Oscar's School for several years. The minister of the Gothenburg Herrnhut congregation, Efraim Stare - who was a close friend of Mr. Henderson - was a great promoter of missions among his people and made regular collections for missionary purposes. He also ran a boys' school and it is not improbable that his great interest in missions rubbed off on some of his pupils. In 1811, a missionary, Johan Christian Moritz, working for the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews settled in Gothenburg to begin work there.

Bishop Wingård, who had been both student and friend of Mr. Henderson was also much interested in missions, a result, at least in part, of his association with Mr. Henderson. His admiration for the British missionary societies had long been well-known. In a meeting of the clergy in his diocese in 1822 he spoke out strongly for the responsibility of the Swedish church to translate the Bible for the people of her island possession of St. Barthelemy in the West Indies. In 1829,

at a meeting of the Clergy Estate in connection with the 1,000-year anniversary of St. Ansgar's arrival in Sweden - where he was sure to have the ear of all the top clergymen in the land - he spoke out strongly in the cause of missions. What better occasion, considering that Ansgar had come to their country as a missionary, could there be than this to turn the eyes of the Swedish Church to the challenge of and their responsibility to missions? He made the suggestion, "That the clergy estate, through its circular should direct a recommendation to the clergy of the land that they should explain the benefit of mission institutes to their audiences and encourage their charity in contributions toward this goal."[60] The Bishop then followed this with a second suggestion - that a society be formed in Stockholm to direct such activity. Unfortunately, this second suggestion was referred to a committee - and no more was heard of it. But the first suggestion went forward and his ideas were duly promoted in the circular that went out to all the clergy. The furtherance of the cause of missions now seemed to be in full spate. And in the coming years, Bishop Wingård was to play an increasingly significant role in that cause.

If, as has been suggested, tracts, Bibles and missions are indivisibly linked together, it would seem that, without stretching the point too far, the work of Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson, from their arrival in Sweden in 1808 until their departure in the second decade of the nineteenth century continued to have amazing results well into the third decade. Through their inspiration and direction, both tract and Bible societies were founded in Sweden. Their original contacts won for them the devotion and unfailing assistance of the Herrnhut Brethren. These, in turn, brought them into contact with many members of the clergy of the Swedish Church. Then, their persistance and

persuasion, as well as their committed Christian characters drew many clergymen to their way of thinking, thus securing the eager help of many of them to further the work of both societies.

There can be no question that the tracts and Bibles contributed largely to the coming great revivals of the mid-century, some of which had already begun. Liedgren acknowledges: "An important precedent for this powerful spiritual movement is, of course, the unparalleled easy access to the Bible, which the Bible Society substantially promoted."[61] The simultaneous rise in interest in missions is undeniably connected with the work of the two societies, particularly as it involved most of the same people. This entire picture presents Sweden as a field - prepared, ripened and ready for the spiritual harvest to be reaped during the coming revivals. And both Ebenezer Henderson and John Paterson had continued, long after their departure from that country in 1812, to play significant roles in that work.

Bibliographical References

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2. Fourteenth Annual Report, 1813, Religious Tract Society, p.207.

3. Thulia Henderson, Memoir of the Rev. E. Henderson, D.D., Ph.D., London, 1859, p.126.

4. Fourteenth Annual Report, 1813, Religious Tract Society, p.207.

5. John Paterson, The Book for Every Land, London, 1858, p.102.

6. Fritz Beskow, Svenska Bibelsällskapet, 1815-1915, Stockholm, 1915, p.8. "--- att få till stånd ett allmänt svenskt bibelsällskap, som skulle understödjas af stifts-bibelsällskapen."

7. Tenth Annual Report, 1814, British and Foreign Bible Society, Appendix, p.152.

8. Eleventh Annual Report, 1815, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.367.

9. Ibid., p.372.

10. Ibid.

11. John Paterson, op. cit., p.223.

12. MS Minutes of the Evangelical Society, 9 July, 1814, Archives of the Evangelical Society, Stockholm. "Upplästes en af Bibelsällskapets i London Secretare Mr. John Tarn och dess undertecknad Fullmagt uti hwilken Bibel Committeén upp drager åt Herr Doctorn att ett under dess resa till Sverige taga sådana mått och steg, som synas tjenligast, att befordra inrättningen af ett Bibel Sällskap skildigt från det Evangeliska ---."

13. MS Dr. C. F. A. Steinkopff, unpublished letter, 1814, Archives of the Evangelical Society, Stockholm. "Öfver alla andra punkter och önskningar af vår Committee skall Herr Doctor Brunnmark personligen med eder samtala ---."

14. Fritz Beskow, op. cit., p.8. "Vid sammanträdet i Evangeliska sällskapet den 9 juli 1814 föreslog Brunnmark, att ett svenskt bibelsällskap skulle bildas och framlade förslag till stadgar for detsamma."

15. Emil Liedgren, Neologien, Romantiken, Uppvakandet, 1809-1823, Svenska Kyrkans Historia, Vol. VI-2, Uppsala, 1946, p.44. "Brunnmark hade just vid ett extra sammanträde inom Evangeliska Sällskapet framlagt förslag om ett svenskt bibelsällskap i Stockholm."

16. Edvard Rodhe, De Svenska Bibelsällskapens Uppkomst, Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, 1907-1908, p.31. "Uppkomsten af Evangeliska Sällskapet i Stockholm är till en stor del hans förtjänst, då det var han, som samlade de intresserade och organiserade dem. Det var vidare han, som ledde sällskapets verksamhet in på de banor, hvarpå det sedan arbetade med sådant nit och så stor framgång, i det han förmedlade förbindelsen med de stora engelska sällskapen, genom hvilkas pikuniära understöd traktat - och bibelspridningen först blef möjlig."

17. Ibid., p.44. "Den som ursprungligen kommit upp med planen, var möjligen Paterson, som själf påstår, att det var han, som först påpekade nödvändigheten att företaga fullständig skilsmässa mellan traktat - och bibelspridning --- och att han meddelat Brunnmark denna plan vid deras sammanträffande under Patersons resa till Sverige och England 1814. Det är möjligt, att Paterson har rätt, men ingalunda får man skjuta Brunnmark i bakgrunden, när det gäller svenska bibelsällskapets konstituerande, såsom Paterson tyckes vilja göra."

18. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.81. "Det är emellertid uppenbart, att den viktigaste orsaken till delningen låg i den tendens till separatism, som Evangeliska Sällskapet visade genom sin okontrollerade masspridning av traktater genom präster och lekman. Denna tendens visade icke bibelsällskapen, vilkas verksamhet kontrollerades av biskop och domkapitel."

19. Eleventh Annual Report, 1815, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.371.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p.369.

22. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.136.

23. Eleventh Annual Report, 1815, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.375.

24. John Paterson, op. cit., p.231.

25. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.133. A translation from the First Annual Report of the Swedish Bible Society.

26. E. A. Jansson, Cornelius Rahmn, Stockholm, 1951, p.54, 55.

27. Sixteenth Annual Report, 1815, Religious Tract Society, p.273.

28. Thulia Henderson, op. cit., p.177.

29. Ibid.

30. Emil Liedgren, op. cit., p.204. "Vad som brast i de svenska församlingarna var i allmänhet icke ord, utan ande."

31. Ibid., p.201. "Man utdelar tusentals biblar, och ingen läser. Om någon läser, så förstår han ej. Bonden dikar hellre en dag, än han läser. Läser han sin Bibel, så fäster han sig vid Simson och Goliat."

32. Thulia Henderson, op. cit., p.129.

33. John Paterson, op. cit., p.256.

34. Ibid., p.265.

35. Ibid.

36. Eighteenth Annual Report, 1817, Religious Tract Society, p.355.

37. Fourteenth Annual Report, 1818, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.103.

38. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.277.

39. Ibid., p.280.

40. John Paterson, op. cit., p.277.

41. Ibid.

42. Thirteenth Annual Report, 1817, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.283.

43. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.94. "Efter 1815 --- icke längre uppehöll förbindelserna med Religious Tract Society i London."

44. Ibid., p.88. "Helt överensstammande med Guds heliga Ord och kyrkans trosbekännelse."

45. Ibid., p.89. "--- överlämnade han till kommittén en mängd traktater, missionsberättelser och andra skrifter. Men inga pengar."

46. Ibid., p.84.

47. Thulia Henderson, op. cit., p.235.

48. Fifteenth Annual Report, 1819, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.39.

49. Seventeenth Annual Report, 1821, British and Foreign Bible Society, p.39.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., p.40.

52. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.292.

53. Emil Liedgren, op. cit., p.139. "En viss stolt lyftning i sinnet, en dragning till ovärldslighet, till oegennyttig strävan för högre mål än 'lycka, bröd och ära', en vaknande tillit till andliga makters verklighet och sedliga normers oeftergivlighet."

54. Ibid., p.151. "Denna ingalunda utan kamp uppnådda och bevarande harmoni är ett resultat av enastående lyckligt samverkande faktorer : säregna tidsförhållanden, rika andliga strömningar och betydande personliga krafter. Varken för eller senare har i vårt land det klassiskt hellenska arvet, det götiskt fosterländska, det romantiskt germanska och det bibliskt kristna så kunnat förenas och ömsesidigt balanseras som under 1800-talets andra och tredje decennium."

55. Bengt Sundkler, Svenska Missionssällskapet 1835-1876, Uppsala, 1937, p.21. "---'de djärvaste förhoppningar' med anledning av missionens landvinningar i fjärran världsdelar."

56. Ibid., p.20. "Här framträder sålunda starkt den intima förbindelse mellan traktat - bibel - och missionsintresse!"

57. Ibid., p.26. "Det ville icke gå med samlingen till Missionsfond för ett Sällskap i Sverige. Nej! det håller hårdt med Svenskarna!" (Quote of letter of J. Waetterdahl)

58. Ibid., p.24. "--- har otvivelaktigt spelat en icke obetydlig roll för spridandet av missionskunskap och missionsintresse i de kretsar, som stodo under inflytande av Evangeliska Sällskapet."

59. Ibid., p.25. "--- användas till Evangelii kungjörande för Judar och Hedningar."

60. Ibid., p.30. "--- att prästeståndet genom sitt circulär skulle rikta en uppmaning till Rikets Presterskap, att för sina åhörare förklara nyttan af Missionsanstalter, och till bidrag för ändamålet uppmuntra dess välgörenhet."

61. Emil Liedgren, op. cit., p.204. "En viktig förutsättning för denna mäktiga andliga rörelse är gevetvis en oerhört underlättade tillgången till Bibeln, som bibelsällskapen så väsentligt främjat."

CHAPTER V

MISSIONARIES : JOSEPH RAYNER STEPHENS AND GEORGE SCOTT

A. THE WORK OF JOSEPH RAYNER STEPHENS

1. The Role of Samuel Owen

2. Joseph Stephens

   Preparation for the Ministry; Arrival in and Impressions of Sweden; Beginning work and the new Chapel; Progress and Decline.

B. THE WORK OF GEORGE SCOTT

1. Background and Early Training

   Early Sunday School Work; Social Service Interests; Contact with Methodism; Training; Contacts with Tract and Bible Societies; Interest in Missions; the Call to Sweden.

2. George Scott's Work in Sweden, 1830-1834

   First Impressions; the First Six Months; Expansion of the Work; Carl Ludvig Tellström, the First Convert; the Work of Tract Distribution; Re-establishment of Communications with the Religious Tract Society; Work with the Swedish Bible Society; Establishment of the Agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society; Interest in Temperance and the Kungsholm Temperance Society; Peter Fjellstedt and the Rise in Interest in Missions; the Movement to form a Missionary Society; the Missionary Newspaper.

3. Mr. Scott's Work, 1835-1842

   Formation of the Swedish Missionary Society; Activities of the Committee; Carl Ludwig Tellström, Missionary to Lapland; Margaret Scott, Missionary to St. Barthelemy; Success of the Tract Society; Growth of the new Bible Agency; Mr. Baird and the Formation of the Swedish Temperance Society; the Affiliate Temperance Society; the Work of Peter Wieselgren for Temperance; the Big Temperance Meetings; Pastoral Work; the new Sunday Schools; the new Church; the First Methodist Society formed; Mr. Scott's visit to America and the Unexpected Result.

The Role of Samuel Owen

Not until 1826 was another missionary to arrive in Sweden from Britain, and he with the intent purpose of preaching the Gospel there. Yet, it was not exactly as a missionary that he arrived in Stockholm, but rather as a minister to Englishmen living in that city. He was only considered a missionary inasmuch as he was sent there under the auspices of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It came about in this way.

In 1803 an English engineer, Samuel Owen, arrived in Stockholm to set up a number of steam engines purchased by the Swedish industries from a factory in Leeds. After three years he returned to England, but soon went back to Stockholm for the same work. This time he remained as overseer in a foundry, and by 1809 he had moved on and had built his own works. As there were not enough trained men in Sweden to maintain the work of his foundry, he began to solicit trained workmen from England, with the result that a good number moved from England to Sweden for this work.

On a visit to England in the summer of 1825, Mr. Owen, who had for many years been a follower of Methodism, experienced a renewal of his faith. One of the results of this renewal was an awakened sense of responsibility for the spiritual nurture of his workers in Sweden. He mentioned this to a friend, stressing his regret that there was no English church in Stockholm for either him or his workers. The friend suggested that he speak with members of the Methodist Missionary Society about the matter. That he did so is known through a letter

written by Mr. Owen on 7 October of that year to a Mr. Watson (this would have been Mr. Richard Watson, secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society) in London to whom he refers to a conversation they had on this subject while in London. In this letter he reports that he had investigated the possibilities of a Methodist minister coming to Stockholm and had found that it would be entirely in order, and adding, "--- and if I should be the instrument in the hands of God, I shall be happy indeed."[1] Mr. Owen had, in fact, discovered the old edict of 1741, permitting freedom to practice their religion to any who were of the English and Reformed churches who were living in Sweden, and the even more liberal edict of 1781 in which all foreigners were permitted full freedom of conscience. Mr. Owen then went on to request the services of a young man, agreeing to pay forty pounds per annum towards his support and offering his home as the place where the Gospel would be preached. This letter was read at the meeting of the Committee on 24 January and as a result, "It was resolved that a suitable person be looked out for for the above work."[2] In March, a report was made to the Committee that "--- a suitable person was found for the purpose of undertaking the proposed work at Stockholm, namely Mr. Joseph Rayner Stephens, now travelling in the Beverly Circuit."[3]

Joseph Stephens

Impressions of Sweden; Beginning Work; The New Chapel; Progress and Decline.

Joseph Rayner Stephens was born in Edinburgh in 1805, his father being a Methodist minister in that city. According to his biographer, he "was educated in all the wisdom of the nineteenth century, became a linguist, a politician, a student of Social Economy, and was versed in

all the subtleties of logic and metaphysics."[4] He was also an outstanding speaker for the biographer, who knew him well adds: "All who ever heard him bear witness that his powers as an orator and a preacher were of a very high order; there was music in his voice, and his lips uttered the convictions of his warm heart and well-cultured mind."[5] Mr. Stephens had early decided to enter the ministry and in 1825 had accepted the role of itinerant preacher for one year. Then, at the early age of twenty-one, and after only one year as a minister he was sent to Stockholm (although as yet he was nor ordained) to minister to the spiritual needs of the English speaking community in that city.

Mr. Stephens arrived in Sweden in July 1826, and a letter was sent by him on the 27th to the Committee in London saying he had arrived in Stockholm and that his living arrangements with the Owen family had been made. He must have applied himself diligently to his new work without delay for in less than a month he sent a request to the Committee for a Pulpit Bible, hymn books, 50 Bibles and 50 copies of the Society rules - and a number of other things. But it was to be three months before he would preach his first sermon, as his applications to the Consistorium and to the King had first to be made and approved. These three months however, provided him with the time to observe the city and its people, to begin his study of the Swedish language and to learn that of the seventy to eighty Englishmen (according to his own count) residing in Stockholm, most had little or no interest in attending a Methodist Chapel. He discovered that Methodism was actually unknown to many of them and reported that he had "great difficulty in convincing them of the true character of Methodism - that its spirit and design was nothing but sectarian, and illiberal, and bringing them

to meet us upon that broad and common ground which as a body we have ever occupied."[6] Moreover, he learned at his first meeting with Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, his majesty's minister in Stockholm, whose help he needed in making his petition to the king, that the minister himself was "totally unacquainted with the tenets and usages of Methodism."[7] Stephens then added that he wrote an account of Methodism for the Minister who, after having read this account promised to render all assistance in his power.

As to Mr. Stephens' observations upon his new surroundings, his impressions echoed those of his predecessors, Messrs. Paterson and Henderson. He found that a great many of the people considered foul language and swearing, drunkenness and gambling to be quite acceptable. His opinion of the clergy in general was also much the same as theirs. He wrote: "Of the clergy in general I can say on the best authority that ignorance, idleness, intrigue and open iniquity are found to an extent that is quite appalling."[8]

Also during this time, Mr. Stephens found a location which he considered to be suitable as a chapel for the meetings. After December, they would be held in a summer pavilion near the center of the town belonging to Count DeGeer, which could hold up to three hundred persons.

Mr. Stephens preached his first sermon in Stockholm on Sunday, 9 November to about twenty people in the Owen home, and on Sunday, 3 December, the first service was held in the new chapel. Soon after the first of the new year he began to conduct classes in Methodism. There is no record of the number of people in attendance at the services, but the first class consisted of seven members, two of whom were Swedes. Five months later, in a report to London he wrote that the chapel was

fairly well-filled, but complained in the same breath that the people who came "were satisfied with an occasional attendance on public worship, but stand aloof from any nearer connexion."[9] Lord Bloomfield did not come, but his wife and daughters attended regularly, as did some Swedish clergymen, students and various members of the government - even some of the privy council. The British consul in Stockholm, George Foy, attended frequently with his wife and family. His daughter Matilda was later to make significant contributions to the Sunday School movement in Sweden.

For the first year Mr. Stephens preached only in English, to a congregation of mostly Englishmen, some Americans and a few Swedes who understood the language. And by all these he was evidently well-liked. In a letter to London, Samuel Owen wrote: "Mr. Stephens is very much liked and indeed is quite a wonder to all that hear him."[10] Matilda Foy noted in her diary: "Went to the English Chapel. Mr. Stephens made a most beautiful sermon on a verse from St. Luke."[11] The Countess von Schwerin, having heard Mr. Stephens preach, wrote to J. P. Wahlin, minister to the legation in London: "I owe you, my good Mr. Wahlin the sincerest thanks for having introduced this estimable and most excellent man to my acquaintance. I have scarcely missed hearing a single one of his sermons. --- My dear son-in-law hears Mr. Stephens with so much pleasure, that he very seldom loses any opportunity of attending divine service."[12] This excellence in preaching did not go unrewarded, for by the end of that year, "The chapel was too small!"[13]

At the same time, it must however be noted that not all who heard him felt that such praise was due. It was, surprisingly, the Moravians - those whom one would have expected to find much in common with the Methodists, who were not happy with Mr. Stephens' preaching. In a

letter to Herrnhut, the Rev. Warnke of the Moravian group in Stockholm wrote: "The speeches of this young and gifted preacher are becoming very famous - the distinguished and the simple, learned and unlearned admire his great gift of speech and his attained skill in the Swedish language. But as I have heard from several, he seldom preaches the Gospel, but rather moralizes, demonstrates and philosophizes most of the time, and that is happily heard by many."[14]

Just the same, Mr. Stephens felt encouraged - to the extent that in his next letter to the Committee he made three requests. He asked for: (1) That Wesley's sermons be translated into Swedish; (2) For the establishment of a monthly journal for the dissemination of religious truth planned after the Wesleyan Missionary Magazine; and (3) That a second man be sent to Stockholm to assist him. His request for the translation of Wesley's sermons were based upon his opinion that they would be of great value to the students in Uppsala, many of whom "were aware of decay of vital Christianity in the Lutheran Church generally,"[15] and for the particular reason that the standard classbook of divinity students was written "by a Swedenborgian who fills the chair --- and is abounding in many and dangerous errors."[16] Concerning the third request he elaborated: "He whom you have sent to this place is young, single, and by no means well furnished with native buoyancy and cheerfulness. He has no bosom counsellor, no friend, and you know the dangers and temptations to which he is exposed."[17] Unfortunately, none of these requests were granted.

The third request, however, showed a surprising ability in one so young to analyse his own problems and was soon to prove indicative of what was to come. There was no further letter from Mr. Stephens until the following December. In it he only reported that he had preached his

first sermon in Swedish, and that on the first anniversary of the chapel. Eight more months were to pass before the next letter. In it he wrote that he had been laboring under some depression and discouragement saying, "--- having been now for upwards of two years in perfect solitude, as far as regards the communion and interchanges of friendship. I feel my spirits often sinking under the influence of melancholy thought."[18] A further communication did not arrive until nine months later, at which time he wrote two letters. The first, dated 25 May, 1829 was mainly a complaint against the English-speaking people --- only a small number attended the services, but they would not become identified with the Methodist Church, and so a church could not be established in Stockholm. The second letter, dated 27 May reiterated these complaints, but showed one ray of light by reporting that the services in which he preached in Swedish every Sunday evening were well attended by the Swedes and were a source of real joy to him. Another positive note sounds in his statement that he had talked with Count Rosenblad, president of the Bible Society (to whose Committee he had recently accepted an invitation to membership) about forming a Missionary Society. But he closed on a pessimistic note saying that he was now anxious to return to England and hoped that a replacement would be sent to Stockholm as soon as possible.

In all, only twelve letters are known to have been sent by Mr. Stephens to the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society during his three years in Stockholm, and one of these, dated 1 January, 1827 is not to be found in the archives, but is known because of its publication in the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary magazine for 1828, page 133. Six of these letters were sent during the first year and were optimistic in nature on the whole. This optimism was great enough to

lead him to suggest, as early as April of 1827, the building of a chapel in Stockholm for which he requested a gift of two hundred pounds from the Society. But after this request for money, as well as the aforementioned requests had been refused, his spirits seem to have suffered a blow from which they could not wholly recover. His letters then became few and far between, and in addition to complaints of depression, he complained of physical problems and general ill health. He requested permission to have a rest in the country for two months before returning home, claiming that it was entirely necessary for his health. This too was refused and he was ordered directly home in August of 1829. He did not actually leave Sweden until November, having preached his final sermon there on the 31 October. The cause of this delay is not known.

What Mr. Stephens' influence in Stockholm might have been is difficult to adjudge due to the paucity of information. J. M. Erikson, who as early as 1895 wrote a history of the Methodists in Sweden deals with Stephens' three years in Stockholm in less than one page. Westin, in his biography of George Scott has carefully documented Mr. Stephens' work in Stockholm but places little value on it. He feels that the notice given to and the importance placed upon Mr. Stephens' preaching by his contemporaries had not so much to do with his excellence in his craft as with his connections in high places. Mr. Owen, Stephens' chief supporter moved in high social circles, having been knighted in 1825 and in 1828 awarded a lifetime pension by the Swedish parliament for his work in industry. (He is known to this day as the Father of Swedish Steamboats.) Nor does Westin consider Stephens' attachment to the British embassy of any less importance - Lord Bloomfield had "Connected him with the Embassy, as his chaplain, and Mr. Stephens

read prayers daily in his house."[19] He says, "It is obvious that Stephens' ties with the English embassy to a great extent benefitted his work."[20] What credit Westin does give to Stephens is the fact that he brought to Sweden extemporaneous preaching that was "about conversion and holiness according to a pattern that brought to our Lutheran land a quite foreign style."[21] He also credits him with what is perhaps Stephens' most important contribution to Evangelicalism in Sweden - that he had prepared the way, through his good reputation as well as through his preaching, and laid a firm and good groundwork for Methodism in Sweden. He states: "When Stephens left Stockholm, the earth of the new Methodist field was truly well-prepared."[22]

Neither do we know if Mr. Stephens was known beyond the borders of Stockholm, or if he made any visits to any other part of the country - with one exception. In June of 1829 Matilda Foy wrote in her diary: "Went to the Asylum of Widows and heard Mr. Zweibergk make a very fine sermon, though not to be compared with those of Mr. Stephens (He is gone to Torneå)."[23] There is no known account of this journey by Mr. Stephens himself. However, noting the date of this entry into Miss Foy's diary, we learn that Mr. Stephens did take a holiday before returning home to Britain, contrary to the orders sent from London. And it could possibly account for the fact that he did not return until November. Moreover, in an unpublished letter dated 9 September, 1839, written to a friend from a jail cell in the House of Correction in Knutsford to which he had been sentenced for eighteen months, judged guilty of "Attending unlawful assembly, addressing to them seditious words, and inciting them to provide arms to resist the execution of the law",[24] Stephens wrote: "To a man who has slept soundly with a sod for his bed and a portmanteau for his pillow within a stone's throw

of the North Cape, and who has made himself quite at home among Laplanders and Russians, there is nothing so very frightful in a moderately good gaol, as gaols go."[25] From these two statements, it is evident that he journeyed to the north of Sweden at least once during his three years in that country. But if he preached anywhere on that journey, or in any way tried to make Methodism known is not known.

Mr. Stephens was evidently able not only to inspire those who heard him by his preaching, but also to command their love and loyalty. Mr. Owen was to write to the committee asking for his reappointment and requesting them "not to let the opportunity of this work to go out of your hands."[26] In fact, Mr. Owen, on a visit to London during the summer of 1829 had attended a meeting of the committee, and it was reported in the minutes: "Mr. Owen of Stockholm was introduced and gave an account of the state of Mr. Stephens' work in that city; and requesting that Mr. Stephens may be appointed for another year, or at least until a successor arrives to supply his place. He also engaged to find the missionary his board as hitherto and to allow him the produce of the seats in the chapel and with the money that may be raised by collections to meet his other expenses."[27] Mr. Owen's request was not granted, but the committee made the following resolution: "That the subject shall be fully entered into when Mr. Stephens returns with the most favorable disposition to prosecute its work in Stockholm."[28]

A result of more lasting quality can be found in Mr. Stephens' influence on Lord Bloomfield. While Bloomfield's family attended Mr. Stephens' services, he himself did not, because "As a high churchman, feels he cannot attend."[29] But at the same time, he did not hesitate

to assist Mr. Stephens in making his applications to the king when he first arrived and later in connecting him with the embassy as his chaplain. Lord Bloomfield evidently changed his mind about attending the English Chapel for in a tract written by George Scott concerning Lord Bloomfield's conversion he writes that "Lord Bloomfield had for some time been a regular hearer at the Methodist chapel when a former missionary conducted Divine service there."[30] And not only did he attend, but after the departure of Mr. Stephens during which time the chapel was closed until the arrival of Mr. Scott several months later, Lord Bloomfield, "Fearing that the Mission would not be resumed, made a strenuous, though unsuccessful, effort to secure the residence at Stockholm of a Church of England Minister, that the public worship of God might be continued in his own language."[31] And when the time came for Mr. Stephens to leave Sweden, Lord Bloomfield gave a farewell dinner for him in his home. Letters from Lord Bloomfield to Mr. Stephens have been published in Holyoake's biography in which he states his thanks to Mr. Stephens and assures him of his continued interest in the missionary. In a letter to Mr. Stephens dated 13 November, 1829, Lord Bloomfield wrote: "I shall always look back to our intercourse as the most important of my life, and I trust whatever of profit I may have gathered is permanently established in my heart."[32] Holyoake adds the information that "When illness overtook Lord Bloomfield, Mr. Stephens was present, and held his hand as he died."[33] Lord Bloomfield died on 15 August, 1846, at which time Mr. Stephens was no longer formally connected with the Methodist Church, having been suspended from his office on 8 May, 1834 for advocating the separation of the Church and the State. So it must have been as a valued friend as well as a minister that he was present on that occasion.

While it can be said that through Mr. Stephens' ministry Methodism became known in Sweden (although others had known of it since the days of Mr. Wesley himself) it must also be remembered that he could in no way, because of the laws of the land try to establish it there. And while he saw the need for a religious awakening among the people, he was equally aware of his inability to do much about it. This frustration he seemed able to accept and after two years in Stockholm he wrote - with surprising maturity for a young man in his early twenties: "The institutions of the Swedish Church are so excellent - its system of discipline, were it acted upon so efficient, whilst its doctrines (those of Luther) differ nothing from our own, except in one or two almost obsolete and surrendered points, that I earnestly hope and believe ... that a revival will commence in the bosom of the church itself, led by its own ministry and spreading among its own members ... It would not be politic to think of a Methodist Establishment in Sweden."[34]

With such a small amount of information to go by, one can only conclude that Mr. Stephens' chief contribution to Evangelical Christianity in Sweden was in the role of a forerunner - to open the door for Methodism and its eventual contributions to the coming revivals. When he returned to London, Mr. Stephens left behind him a city whose ordinary dwellers as well as officials remembered him with pleasure and good will. And if his influence was in any dependent upon his connections in high places, what matters that if those connections helped promote the work he had come to do? Moreover, if Methodists were to be judged by the young, well-educated, articulate and socially acceptable Mr. Stephens, they would be welcome indeed. And in the light of what was to occur in the following decade, the value of this influence ought not to be underestimated.

Background and Early Training

Early Sunday School Work; Social Service Interests; Contact with Methodism; Training; Contacts with Tract and Bible Societies; Interest in Missions; The Call to Sweden.

Less than a year was to pass before a replacement for Joseph Stephens was to arrive in Stockholm. And this man would be George Scott from Edinburgh. He was an energetic, enthusiastic minister. During his youth he had been thoroughly grounded in the Christian faith in the Church of Scotland. He was a serious-minded young man and interested in the work of the church. According to his biographer, Gunnar Westin, he was early drawn into the Haldane circles in Edinburgh where he experienced some sort of religious crisis. As a result, he began to work with the Sabbath Schools of the Scottish Church, thereby receiving his first training as a speaker. From this it was an easy step to preaching, and his first sermon was given in 1825 when he was only twenty-one years old.

By this time he had become interested in the Edinburgh Philanthropic Society - a group of young men who were interested in improving the lot of the poorest inhabitants of the city. He visited the sick and the imprisoned, and was particularly interested in helping the alcoholics. The leader of this group was William Finlay, who had been closely involved with the work of the Haldanes. The members of the group were motivated by Christian ideals and therefore considered themselves to be "Home Missionaries". This phase of Mr. Scott's life made an indelible impression, for his interest in helping those less fortunate would continue for the rest of his life and become a major part of his ministry.

At the time of his birth in 1804, his parents were connected with the Methodist circle in Edinburgh, but for some unknown reason broke with Methodism and joined themselves with the Church of Scotland. Therefore Mr. Scott's first connection with Methodism came through attending evening meetings in 1823 with Elizabeth Mason, whom he married in 1824. He enjoyed the Methodist services, but had, for some inexplicable reason developed a strong dislike for the Methodist class meetings - in spite of the fact that he had never attended such a meeting! So when in 1825, a group of people professing Methodist doctrine but with Presbyterian polity joined together, Mr. Scott found this Methodism without class meetings to be exactly what he would like and so united with them. This connection lasted less than a year. He felt that interest in spiritual matters was lacking and so broke away from this group. As a result, he now found himself with no church connection at all. Before long, however, he met up with a group of young men who met simply for spiritual companionship, edification and to do good works. One of his friends in this group was a Methodist, and he persuaded Mr. Scott to accompany him to one of the hated class meetings where he was, much to his surprise, both impressed and pleased, to the extent that he soon found himself attending the meetings with great regularity. The upshot of this is not difficult to guess. In the spring of 1827 he formally joined the Methodist Church in Edinburgh.

A few months later, after what had been a difficult time - his wife had died in November of that year - he experienced a second spiritual renewal, one which was to affect his outlook and views of Christianity for the rest of his life. Of this experience he said, in his ordination sermon on 12 July, 1830: "While listening to the clear and

decided statements of many who had received that direct witness of God's Spirit testifying their adoption, I was convinced of my danger in being without this blessing, and led earnestly and believingly to seek it ... I found power in that meeting to lay hold on Christ as my Redeemer; I felt him precious; I could without hesitation have declared then that the Lord was my portion, my God, my Saviour; that Jesus loved me, and gave himself for me."[35] Ever after, Scott could only consider this type of a great emotional experience as proof of a person's Christian belief. It was not enough to practice the Christian religion : one had to experience a crisis - to "feel" - resulting in an emotional bliss, which was the only way one could be sure of the presence of the Holy Spirit in one's life. He was then baptized by the Methodist minister in Edinburgh after which he stated: "This day commences a new era of my spiritual existence."[36]

It was during Mr. Scott's connection with the Methodist-Presbyterian group that he preached his first sermon. But due to the short duration of this connection, his preaching then reverted to short talks given to the Sabbath School he attended, and to talks given to the Philanthropic Society. His talents in this field did not go unnoticed, and soon he was speaking and preaching at many of various types. Before long he began to preach regularly on the "Bethel Ship" - a ship that had become the locale for the services of worship for seamen. At the end of 1827 he was requested by the Methodists to become their local preacher. He agreed and preached his first sermon in this capacity on 11 April, 1828. As the local preacher, he was now required to travel and to preach to the various groups of Methodists in the many small towns surrounding Edinburgh. His preaching was, right from the beginning, aimed at revival. His goal was the conversion of the

individuals who heard him, which could only be achieved through a great penitential struggle. "Penitent meetings" were held, often after the regular service of worship. These meetings would often continue far into the night, ending, hopefully, with the release of the penitent from his struggles, at which time he would sense great peace and joy. It mattered little if his hearers considered themselves Christians and had been faithful church members for many years. If they had not experienced this formula for penitence and struggle, followed by a joyful victory their Christianity was not the real thing. Mr. Scott never lost his belief in this formula, or his zeal, to which he gave voice when he stated, "I could willingly die endeavoring to rescue souls from the Devil's grasp and bring them to Jesus."[37]

This zeal extended itself to the class meetings as well - once so abhorred, but now so loved. They had become of great importance to him not only because they were a spiritual schoolroom in which the newly converted could learn Biblical truths and to find fellowship, but also because they were times of learning for himself, as well as an outlet for his emotional concerns, and a place to experience a full sanctification. Very often these meetings would become prayer meetings at which he would pray to "feel" a full sanctification. One had to feel it to be sure of it. This full sanctification along with good works became for him the final proof of true Christianity. In fact, he came to consider the class meetings even more important than preaching the Word, inasmuch as in them the minister must deal individually with souls as well as make the application of truths suited to the case. It was a grave responsibility indeed to direct each individual towards his own full sanctification.

During these years he also came to appreciate the use and efficacy of tracts. Wherever he went, to rich or poor districts alike, he would distribute tracts along with an invitation to attend his meetings; a practice he was to continue for many years. These tracts were all directed toward the conversion of the reader, and he considered their messages excellent preparation to hearing the preaching of the Word. He came into contact with the Edinburgh Bible Society and was frequently asked to speak at their meetings. He was a great supporter of their work, knowing that knowledge of the Word would often lead to acceptance of it.

During this time his interest in missions also was born. Monthly missionary prayer meetings were held in Edinburgh, joint meetings of all the churches who desired to join in, and Mr. Scott attended regularly. He became a member of the Methodist Missionary Society which already existed in Edinburgh and soon became its secretary.

While devoting himself to these many interests, Mr. Scott continued to preach and became increasingly aware of his ability in this direction, feeling that this was his true gift from God, and therefore his true calling. By 1828 he had decided to become, if accepted, one of Methodism's travelling ministers, and began to take the necessary steps to achieve this goal. He applied for this post and in June of 1829 he went through his examination. He was found to be satisfactory, accepted and placed on the reserve list, as there were already more ministers available for the post of travelling minister than posts to be filled. However, due to some rumor that had been noised abroad that he was interested in missions, his name was jumped to the head of the queue in order to make him quickly available should the need arise, and he be called by the Missionary Committee. As far as is known, Mr. Scott

himself had not given much thought in this line, and when he received an invitation to make his desires known to the Committee in London, he found himself in a dilemma. He solved this by writing the reply that he himself didn't feel capable of making such a decision, but if the Committee felt he should become a missionary, he would comply with their decision. Their answer was delivered to him at the missionary meeting of the Methodists in Edinburgh in May of 1830. They wanted him to become their missionary to Stockholm. He accepted.

The Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was not one to let any grass grow under its feet. George Scott was ordained to his new mission to Sweden, for a term of four years on 12 July, 1830. He left England shortly thereafter and on 5 August he first set foot on Swedish soil. In Stockholm he was met by Samuel Owen and made most welcome in his home. On the very first Sunday, he found that he had a fair congregation - almost fifty attended.

Fortunately, in the interim since Mr. Stephens' departure, the previous autumn, the pulpit had been regularly filled by a Rev. Mr. Miller, formerly a Methodist minister in Scotland, now teaching in Stockholm. Through his efforts the little congregation had been held together.

George Scott's Work in Sweden, 1830-1834

> First Impressions; the First Six Months; Expansion of the Work; Carl Ludvig Tellström, the First Convert; the Work of Tract Distribution; Re-establishment of Communications with the Religious Tract Society; Work with the Swedish Bible Society; Establishment of the Agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society; Interest in Temperance and the Kungsholm Temperance Society; Peter Fjellstedt and the Rise in Interest in Missions; the Movement to form a Missionary Society; the Missionary Newspaper.

Like his predecessors, Mr. Scott began immediately to learn the Swedish

language. With the help of Mr. Owen, he reported his presence to the Church Council as Mr. Stephens' replacement to preach to those Englishmen who adhered to the doctrines set forth by Mr. Stephens. He was accepted without question, due undoubtedly to the excellent reputation of his predecessor. He then lost no time in calling on the members of the congregation who had been attending regularly and found that he could depend on only seven of them to form a Methodist Society. It speaks well for Mr. Scott's industry to report that four months later, this number had grown to ten. He preached three times a week - Sunday morning and evening and Wednesday evening. One Monday evening a month was to be devoted to a missionary prayer meeting.

During this time, he also busied himself observing daily life in Stockholm and his impressions, like those of his three predecessors were not good. He wrote: "Anything very cheering must not however be expected from this place for some time. There is such an utter want of spirituality, such a miserable ignorance of experimental religion ... such a disposition to worldlymindedness and the pursuit of sensual pleasures ... such an evident dread lest the subjects of the Gospel should be hinted at out of the place of worship, that humanly speaking, there can be no near prospect of any genuine extension of Christ's Kingdom."[38] Only a month later he wrote: "Every day gives me new discoveries of the exceedingly low ebb to which religion has sunk here. I am this night informed that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is made so much a worldly concern that no one can give evidence in a court of justice, marry, or easily obtain employment unless he can produce a certificate from the priest that he has recently communicated. And Mr. Owen told me of an individual ... not long since went to take the sacrament to qualify himself for giving evidence."[39] It seems to have

been a predilection of the missionaries to Sweden to write little of whatever beauty or good they might have encountered, but to dwell instead on whatever extremes of sinfulness they found. Mr. Scott was no exception.

Although Mr. Scott came to Sweden to minister to the British workers in the employ of Mr. Owen, he saw the entire English community in Stockholm as part of his congregation. Unfortunately, not all the British agreed with him, particularly Mr. Owen's iron workers, and few came to his services. When they didn't show up for Sunday services, he began Saturday evening services - but they preferred to spend that time at the pub, or drinking at home. He called upon them in their homes, trying to convince them of their need to go to church, but to little avail. He then urged them to send their children to be taught the basic principles of Christianity - it was the least they could do. But when he announced his first class on 23 October, only four children appeared. He gave this up after a few weeks.

But while the British workmen, whom he had been sent to serve failed to come to his services, the British representatives at the Swedish court (most of whom were Anglicans) and other British in the city did come. He soon became acquainted with Lord Bloomfield and a staunch friendship developed between them. Lord Bloomfield was soon attending the Sunday services regularly, along with the ambassador from the USA and before long appointed Mr. Scott as his chaplain. He wrote to his wife: "On the whole, we like Mr. Scott better than his predecessor. He has less repetition, and does not employ so many adjectives to give force to his subject. I think Mr. Scott is more spiritual, and more in earnest out of church ... I shall cultivate his acquaintance, and hope to profit by it."[40] Mr. Scott now became known as the English Pastor and his chapel became the English Chapel.

The Foy family also continued to come to the chapel and Matilda wrote most favorable concerning Mr. Scott in her diary: "He made a most excellent sermon on the text 'And what do you think of Christ?' from the 22nd chapter of Matthew. I think he has certainly not the genius of Mr. Stephens, but is possessed, I believe of more solidity."[41]

After his first six months in Stockholm, George Scott began to broaden the scope of his operations, having found that to minister only to the British in that city was to limit him to far too small a field. He soon discovered that beyond the bounds of his congregation lay unlimited opportunities, and he was not slow to grasp them, soon becoming involved in many other projects. In fact, the minutes of the Committee in London for 23 March, 1831 disclose that Mr. Scott, as did Mr. Stephens before him, asked for a second missionary to help him. This request was denied. It was again put forward in July. And the Committee again refused, saying: "The Committee do not see it to be consistent with their plans under present circumstances to add a second missionary to the mission at Stockholm."[42]

Mr. Scott continued his study of the Swedish language, and as early as March of 1831 he conducted devotions with the Owen family in that language. Finally, in November of that year, at a Wednesday evening service he preached his first sermon in Swedish. Before long, the chapel was crowded with Swedes every Wednesday evening, anxious to hear this fiery revival style of preaching. And not long after that, he began to preach extemporaneously, which drew great admiration from the Swedes - this was an art little developed by the Swedish ministers. By spring of 1832 a full-scale revival was under way, and the chapel which seated 500 at maximum, quickly became too small. Rather than offer another service in Swedish, Mr. Scott began to hold conventicles in

his own rooms which also, within a few weeks became overcrowded. The next step was to hold conventicles in other homes, and several offered. These conventicles Mr. Scott considered to be classes in the Methodist meaning, although he carefully avoided calling them by that name. That would have been interpreted as proselytizing. One of these conventicles gave him an unusual pleasure. He wrote in a report to the Committee: "I last night attended what I scarcely expected to see in Stockholm (the Lord pardon my unbelief) an edifying tea party. There were 15 present, principally ladies, and we spent two hours entirely in spiritual heart searching converse, in singing God's praise, reading His Word, and supplicating His throne. Though I had to talk and pray in a strange language, I felt the work of the Spirit in uniform ... I felt as if among a company of zealous English Methodists."[43]

As could be expected, the conventicles soon came to the notice of the Stockholm clergy and some of the old suspicions began to reappear. By the end of 1832 many of them were loudly objecting to his Swedish services - surely they were illegal! So in February of 1833 he preached a sermon on the Methodist belief and defended the conventicles, pointing out that they were just that - conventicles - not Methodist classes. Not only did Lord Bloomfield back him in this, but just at this time the Crown Prince gave his approval to Mr. Scott's temperance meetings, and these two factors, rather than anything Mr. Scott said or did in his own defense helped to silence the opposition. After several months of this silence, he became bolder, and in November enrolled the first group of Swedes in a Methodist class, and within two weeks had a total of 25 names on the roll.[44] By January of 1834 there were over 40.[45]

The first Swede to be converted under Mr. Scott's preaching, whom he was later to refer to as, "The first fruits of mission effort in Sweden",[46] was a young man - a journeyman painter - by name of Carl Ludvig Tellström. Soon after his conversion he felt moved to share his new belief and joy with others. Mr. Scott describes what then heppened in a report to the Editor of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Magazine. He wrote: "I found that he had formed no plan, but had a decided conviction on his mind, that he ought to do something; and that he could not retain his own spiritual enjoyments without exertion. He immediately went to work, gathered a few destitute children together as a Sunday-school, and visited many cottages of the poor with religious tracts; remaining and reading where he was well received."[47] The historian of the Sunday School Movement in Sweden cast a bit more light on it saying that Mr. Tellström met with a number of young boys, "With whom he read, sang, prayed and conversed concerning the salvation of their souls."[48] This is thought to have been the first Sunday School in Sweden, and although no exact date is known, the year 1834 has been suggested.[49] One might question why Mr. Scott did not attempt to start a Sunday School, particularly for the children of his large Swedish congregation, even though his attempt at holding a class for his English congregation had failed. The answer is simply that to have done so would further have brought the wrath of the Swedish clergy upon his head. But it would be quite wrong to think that Mr. Scott was not interested - his work in the Sabbath Schools in Edinburgh several years earlier had shown his zeal in this matter. After his efforts to start a school among the English congregation had failed, and fully aware that he could not begin such a work himself among the Swedes, he realized that the answer to the problem lay with the Swedish clergy. In March of 1831 he visited an examination of confirmands at Katarina

Church and was dismayed to hear how little the children really knew. By summer he had talked with Pastor Häggman about the matter, hoping that this young minister would be willing to do something, and had also sent to Edinburgh for some Sunday School books which Mr. Häggman promised to translate. For some reason, nothing came of all this. And so it must have been with no little pleasure that he encouraged and advised Mr. Tellström in every possible way without giving any personal attention to the school itself - in fact, by his own admission, he never visited it. The locale of this school is not known, but it is known that Mr. Tellström kept it going until his departure from Stockholm in June of 1836. Nor is it known if there was anyone to carry on his work after he left.

It is not surprising to observe that all this work as a local pastor for his congregation was not enough to satisfy a man with the enormous energy and zeal of George Scott. He involved himself in many areas of Christian work in Stockholm, all of which have been carefully documented by his biographer. We shall concern ourselves with only those few areas which directly contributed to the revivals of the times as well as to the rise of the free churches. These areas are in Bible and tract distribution, missions, temperance, in which areas Westin claims: "Here Scott was a pioneer",[50] and of course, his continuing pastoral work.

To begin with, it should be remembered that for several years there had been little contact between the Evangelical Society and the Religious Tract Society in London. Nor had any economic aid come from them to Stockholm, a fact which had caused the Swedish Society great problems. Printing had not ceased entirely, but the number of tracts printed had decreased sharply. The Swedish Society wanted to print more tracts,

but could not do so without the financial aid from London. The London Society was only willing to send money if the English tracts were translated and printed. And this was the hub of the problem. For the Swedes refused to print any more English tracts with their emphasis on the need for conversion, for being born again, for their "separatist tendencies". So the impasse continued.

It is interesting to note Dr. Ribbner's comments concerning this. He claims that information about the rise of several revivals in various parts of Sweden began to arrive in Stockholm, and that in the reported areas many tracts had recently been distributed. He adds: "Young and old were touched by the revivals, realized the one thing necessary, and sought the answer to the main question - What shall I do to be saved?"[51] In the tracts they found the answer to that question. It was clearly stated that, "Salvation implied conversion, and conversion led to observance of the laws of conscience which came by reconciliation through Christ."[52] Evidently not everyone disliked the tracts.

In spite of this acceptance of the English tracts by many of the people, and not a few of the clergy, there was still enough antipathy to hinder the work of the committee, and it was not until Mr. Scott appeared on the scene that the breach was eventually healed, and the work in Sweden could go forward, supported by financial aid from London. He continued to believe in the efficacy of tracts as a preparation for and an adjunct to revival, and he was familiar with the publications of both the London and Edinburgh Tract Societies, having used their material in his Sunday School work in Edinburgh. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that he lost no time in getting the work of tract distribution under way in Sweden, and he had no intention of permitting the problems of the Evangelical Society to hinder him. In a report to the Committee of the

Methodist Missionary Society in January of 1831 he wrote: "Pastor Häggman, a Swedish priest, has translated for me nine religious hand-bills. He is to offer them first to the Stockholm Tract Society, and if they make the least hesitation I shall have them printed."[53] Knowing both the problems and attitudes of the Evangelical Society, he was obviously leery about thier response. And well he might have been. The Swedish Society was not at all anxious to join in with this venture for the reason that, "It would associate them with the Methodists."[54]

So Mr. Scott went ahead and had the tracts printed, entitling them, "For the Sake of Religion". In the meantime, he contacted the Religious Tract Society in London, ostensibly with the view to re-open its association with the Evangelical Society. On 16 October of 1832 a letter was read from Mr. Scott at a meeting of the Committee in London, requesting funds for printing some of the Society's tracts, faithful translations of which he promised to secure. He also asked for the sum of £65 for the publication of Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul" in Swedish - already translated but out of print. The response of the Committee to these two requests was: "Resolved: that £4 in Swedish tracts be published by the Evangelical Society to be granted to Mr. Scott: and Resolved: that a communication be made to the Evangelical Society at Stockholm on the subject of the tracts ... mentioned by Mr. Scott."[55] The second resolution was by far the more important, for it re-opened communications between the two societies. The £65 for Doddridge's work was not forthcoming.

In the spring of 1833 Mr. Scott made a visit to England (he was on his way to Scotland to marry Miss Janet Kelly, a teacher in Edinburgh) and stopped off in London to attend a meeting of the Committee of the

Religious Tract Society. He reported on the low state of the funds of the Evangelical Society, and asked for further financial aid. The minutes report: "Mr. Scott laid before the Committee a letter from the Rev. F. M. Franzen, Secretary of the Evangelical Society at Stockholm ... They have selected three tracts ... which are in the course of translation."[56]

This would indicate that the Committee of the Evangelical Society were once again willing to publish the English tracts, providing the funds would be available from London. The response of the London Society was, "Resolved: To grant Mr. Scott £25 for the publication of the above works."[57] The relationship between the two committees was rapidly improving.

At this same time, Mr. Scott pointed out the inactivity and the unhappy circumstances of the Evangelical Society and put forward the suggestion that a subsidy from the Religious Tract Society would be the best method of giving it new life. The Committee, unable to agree that money was the solution, turned to Ebenezer Henderson, now a secretary of the organization, and to John Paterson, who just happened to be in London at the time. Mr. Paterson supported Mr. Scott's request for funds and it was agreed to send the Stockholm Society £20. Mr. Henderson was requested to correspond with Mr. Scott on the question of renewal within the Stockholm Society. This was indeed a touchy subject and could easily be interpreted by the men in Stockholm as interference from the outside. Just what the reaction of these men was is not known. But on 9 January, 1835, Mr. Scott reported to the Committee in London that: "The Committee of the Evangelical Society has been reorganized, and the stock of tracts removed to the house of Mr. Kayser, a warm friend of the cause."[58]

With the injection of these funds, with the reorganization of the Committee, plus the inspiring work of Mr. Scott, a new life began to breathe in the Evangelical Society. Activity increased noticeably. The minutes of the Religious Tract Society reveal monthly correspondence and information about new tracts being written and published. During the three years 1832 to 1834 only 35,676 tracts were distributed.[59] But in the single year 1835, 89,063 were sent out,[60] most of which were translations of English tracts provided by the Religious Tract Society in London. And it is, without doubt, Mr. Scott's intervention which brought about this new life and activity in the Evangelical Society.

Mr. Scott himself continued to use tracts as a part of his ministry - they were an important extension of his preaching and were distributed to the congregations at the close of every service at the English Chapel. He also supplied tracts to many who were willing to act as agents for their distribution. For all practical purposes, he was now the driving force in the Evangelical Society, and once again the reformed, evangelistic tracts found their way into homes throughout the land. And he was thoroughly convinced that they were a powerful influence on the people who read them toward their conversion.

Closely related to his work with the Evangelical Society and the distribution of tracts was the work of the Swedish Bible Society, with which Mr. Scott also involved himself. Since 1826, financial help from the British and Foreign Bible Society had been withdrawn because of the Swedish Bible Society's desire to include the Apocryphal books - they had always been a part of the Swedish Bible and would be greatly missed if omitted. The British Society, on the other hand, would not hear of including these books. For a short while, minimal help was

given to the Swedish Society to print the New Testament, but by 1828 that help too was withdrawn. The reason for this was probably the fact that in that year the Swedish Bible Society confirmed their position, stating that they would continue to include the Apocryphal books in any editions of the Bible printed by them. Then, in 1832, because of a desire on the part of the British Society to have a closer relationship with Sweden, they asked John Paterson to visit Sweden in their behalf, with a view to set up their own agency in that country.

This he did, and with the full and generous support of the Swedish Bible Society. Although the Swedish Society could not print or distribute Bibles without the Apocryphal books, they claimed to be happy to have a second agency in their country which would work to get the Scriptures into the hands of the people - with or without the Apocrypha. It was in this agency that Mr. Scott was to involve himself in the work of Bible distribution in Sweden.

In May of 1832 four men were appointed by Mr. Paterson to act as agents for the British and Foreign Bible Society in Sweden. They were: Mr. Scott; the Rev. Mr. Warnke, pastor of the Brethren congregation; Mr. G. Th. Keyser; and Chamberlain Ludwig Nejber. Mr. Scott was placed in charge of the work. These men constituted a wise choice on the part of Mr. Paterson for they were all supporters of both Swedish societies, thus avoiding any feelings of separation from the Bible Society, or of competition. Mr. Paterson was so anxious to avoid any such feelings that he wrote this recommendation to the British Society: "You ought immediately to make the Swedish Bible Society a grant of 1000 copies of the New Testament ... This would serve to convince them of your earnest desire to be their fellow-helpers, and would be most acceptable to them,

as they have felt themselves unable to answer the demands made upon them this year for supplying the wants of the poor."[61]

Mr. Scott's first report to the London Society evidences that he approached this job as their agent with his usual energy. He wrote: "Considerable progress has been made in the printing of an edition of 10,000 New Testaments in the Swedish language. 5000 copies will be ready in a few days and we expect the whole to be completed in about a month from this date."[62] In the same letter he reported that the promised Bibles had arrived from London and that he would send them to the dioceses to which they had been promised by Dr. Paterson. Mr. Scott's monthly reports to the British and Foreign Bible Society witness to continued energetic action.

With what must have seemed to the Swedish Society unlimited resources from London, the work of the agency grew quickly, its success not at all undue to the fact that they were able to sell their Bibles at a significantly cheaper price than the Swedish Society could sell theirs. As a result, Mr. Scott, before the end of 1832 had employed a colporteur who was to distribute Bibles among the needy in Stockholm. This, in all probability, was the young Mr. Tellström. Moreover, the agency was already receiving requests from various parts of the country for the cheap Bibles, the first request for 1,000 New Testaments coming from the Bible Society in Lund. In January of 1833 he reported to his own missionary society: "This year opens with many favorable tokens in reference to the Swedish work - in general to the agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society ... and an awakening to the Word of God. Last month an application was received from one Lutheran Diocese much neglected, for no less than 10,000 Bibles, as that number of individuals in the Diocese had communicated to their respective pastors their desire to possess a copy of the Word of God."[63]

By early November Bibles had been sent to Alingsås and Norrköping. Two years later, Bibles had been sent to many other parts of the country, and they had a colporteur working for them in Luleå in the far north. They had also made contact with the Bible Society in Finland and sent Bibles there. Westin gives the following figures: "This wide-spread work showed the results that the agency, by the close of 1834 had distributed nearly 40,000 Bibles and Testaments and had printed 11,000 Bibles and 45,000 Testaments. Of the latter, 15,000 were in the Finnish language."[64]

Although now the directing hand of the British and Foreign Bible Society's independent agency in Stockholm, and in competition, as it were, with the Swedish Bible Society, Mr. Scott maintained excellent relations with the Swedish Society and continued to be a member of its Committee. In this position, he came to know Count Rosenblad, whose friendship and influence were to stand him in good stead in the coming years. Even more significant for the sake of Mr. Scott's work was his acquaintance, through his membership on this committee, with Bishop Wingård, who continued to be an energetic promoter of the Bible Society cause. And through his friendship with both these men, Mr. Scott was able to meet many others, both well and highly placed in both Clergy and Nobility Estates, from all parts of Sweden, with the happy result that his name and work were quickly becoming very well known. This was to be of great help to his work in the next few years.

Mr. Scott was now doing the work of three men - minister to his congregation (both English and Swedish), printer and distributer of tracts, and executor of the agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Sweden. He received no extra pay for this work, although the other three men of the agency made, in 1834, a request of the London Society

for some remuneration for their efforts. For himself he wrote: "I dare not, I will not receive one shilling of your Society's holy funds."[65] And in his diary he noted: "Bless God I feel no wish to touch a farthing, nay I abhor the idea; what I do, that I will do freely and for Christ's sake."[66]

Mr. Scott's enormous capacity for hard work is visible in yet another area - that of Temperance. This subject had been close to his heart since the days of his work with the Philanthropic Society in Edinburgh. In Samuel Owen he now found a man whose interest in the subject was as great as his own. For some time, Mr. Owen and a Colonel Carl av Forsell had met together to discuss the problem of drunkenness, considered by many to be Sweden's worst problem, but they had not been able to find any practical way to deal with it. When Mr. Scott first arrived and wrote his impressions to the Missionary Committee, this problem had not escaped his attention, and he wrote: "The manufacture and sale of brandy is so incorporated into the interests of the government and landholders, and the system on which it is made is so pervasive, every peasant being allowed to distill by paying a trifling sum, which means there are more than 60,000 makers of brandy in Sweden ... By a calculation of the quantity of grain that enters Stockholm, contrasted with the quantity of brandy that comes here, it appears clearly that 1/7 more grain is used in the manufacture of this poison than is consumed as bread or any other way."[67] Before Mr. Scott had been in Stockholm two months, he was invited to join Mr. Owen and Col. av Forsell in their discussions. It is possible that Mr. Scott and Col. av Forsell had met earlier, for only a few weeks after his arrival in Stockholm, Mr. Scott made this entry in his diary: "A Swedish gentleman had a long conversation with me about temperance societies and

seems desirous that one should be formed in Stockholm - nothing is impossible with God."[68] Westin claims that this man could have only been Col. av Forsell. It seems that these Swedish men clearly saw the need, and were aware that societies existed in England which were doing something about a similar problem in their country. But they had not yet, however, been able to discover exactly the way to go about solving the problem in Sweden. Now they saw in Mr. Scott just the person to help them.

By Mr. Owen's own admission, it was Mr. Scott's presence and initiative that enabled them to realize their hopes and put action into their words. He wrote: "When Pastor Scott came to Sweden, I asked him concerning these (temperance societies) in England. A few days after, I took Pastor Scott with me to Colonel av Forsell ... We agreed that Forsell should call together some of his friends to talk about this subject."[69] This meeting took place on 13 November, 1830.

Realizing Mr. Scott's drive and urge to set things into motion, it is not difficult to imagine his frustration when the meeting broke out into an argument concerning the degree of temperance to be adopted. Should temperance be interpreted to mean moderation, or should it indicate total abstinence? But Mr. Scott could not have been too surprised at this, for the question had already arisen during his earlier conversation with Col. av Forsell. When that gentleman had voiced his opinion that he thought a society which stood for total abstinance could in no way succeed, Mr. Scott replied: "Nothing but entire abstinance - a total banishing of the plague - could answer any important purpose."[70] He then gave the Colonel a copy of Dr. Lyman Beecher's tract, "Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils and Remedy of Intemperance", which that gentleman then used as a

basis for a brochure in which he urged the formation of a Temperance Society in Sweden.

However, a majority of those present at that meeting supported the idea of moderation - there was no doubt in their minds that total abstinance would simply not be acceptable to the Swedes. A second meeting was arranged for 28 November (Mr. Scott was not present at that meeting), and at that time a Temperance Society was formed and moderation was the interpretation given to the word temperance. Bishop J. O. Wallin was the leader of this group.

Mr. Scott's unhappiness with this state of affairs was great, and it is not surprising that in just a little over a year, Mr. Owen and his supporters for total abstinance (including Mr. Scott) left the original group, and on 18 February, 1831 formed the Kungsholm Temperance Society, which had total abstinance as its aim. The president of this group was N. W. Stråle, Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Owen was vice-president, and Mr. Scott was to be a director.

In this new society, Mr. Scott quickly became active. He spoke at its founding meeting (at which not a single clergyman other than himself was present) telling them: "I heartily wish success, seeing intemperance is destroying the morals of this people and of course removing them further from the influence of Religion."[71] To him, alcohol in any form was an enemy of Christianity. Therefore its removal was not only the duty of every Christian, but it would be a real contribution to revival and conversion. Above all, the "absolute principle" must be adhered to. And he spoke out boldly against the moderates - which hardly improved his standing with the clergy! - and poked fun at them in a letter to the Christian Advocate, saying: The Central Committee

have drawn up lengthened and complex rules, prescribing when, by whom and to what extent brandy shall be drunk. These have been laid before the King, and received his smiling sanction."[72]

This new society flourished and within two months had over 1,000 members, and by April inquiries regarding the society were received from "almost every district in the country".[73] Mr. Scott sent for many tracts from both British and American Temperance Societies, which he translated for the Swedish Society. He also translated sections of the minutes of the Committee into English which were then sent to America and Britain and published in both The Christian Advocate and The British and Foreign Temperance Herald.

No opportunities for education were lost. Statistics which linked crime to drunkenness were gathered and printed. The problems of the men in the army and navy, mostly found to be linked to drunkenness were discussed. A tract appeared called Health Meter for Drinkers and Non-Drinkers (Hälsomätare för Drinkare och Nyktra).[74] One result of the efforts of the Committee to uphold and spread the absolute principle was that several small societies which earlier had been formed on the moderate principle were now changing their minds. At the close of 1832 Mr. Scott reported: "They have discovered that this in practice is no principle at all, and they have now commenced forming societies on the principle of total abstinence."[75] In fact, the society formed by the moderates died an early death. It held only one meeting after its formation - an annual meeting held on 30 November, 1831,[76] and thereafter sank into oblivion.

In March of 1832 the Society received a hefty boost. The King had granted an audience to the directors of the Society and had not only

pronounced his satisfaction with their work, but had also assured them of his support by whatever means possible. And when at the meeting of the Society in December of 1832 the Crown Prince not only was present, but agreed to become a patron of the Society, Mr. Scott and his friends were overjoyed. Mr. Scott preached a sermon at this meeting which was later printed as a tract and sent throughout Sweden. In it, he accused the Moderates of being one of the main contributors to drunkenness - which would hardly have endeared him to the clergy, many of whom still upheld the moderate point of view, including Bishop Wallin who took this as a personal insult! However, the Seal of Approval of the Crown Prince was given to this speech, thus making it entirely acceptable in places where without that approval it might not have been read at all. And again, both the name and the views of George Scott were being broadcast throughout the country.

Still not content with their successes, Messrs. Scott and Owen found another avenue for their zeal and started a temperance newspaper which they called Stockholms Temperance Herald (Stockholms Nykterhets-Härold). Mr. Owen was editor, but it was Mr. Scott who searched for and brought in material from many other similar publications. The first edition came out on 4 February, 1833. This project, however, was not to succeed and its final edition, number 13, appeared on 22 July of that year. But failure was the exception rather than the rule, and little by little the Society grew. By 1834, many men of the nobility, members of parliament and a large number of clergymen, including five bishops, attended the meetings.

Mr. Scott's work with the Temperance Society of Stockholm was probably one of his most significant contributions to his field of labor as well as to the revivals of the time. As a founder and leader of this work

he came into contact with many of the men who would become leaders in the next few decades, and his evangelical spirit which was always at the forefront could not have failed to exert a strong influence upon them. Conversion of the individual, to be followed by a life of holiness remained his chief goals. The conquest of alcoholism, an enemy which could be counted on to prevent the individual from achieving either of these goals was paramount. Having won approval of both King and Crown Prince, his words now carried an enormous influence in many parts of the country. In Stockholm, more and more people found their way to the English Chapel to hear him preach, and all were challenged to acknowledge their sinful state, to accept redemption and to seek to live a holy life. To many who heard him whose homes were broken and ruined by alcoholism, these words, and the healing they promised were welcome indeed. Several of his sermons were printed and distributed, and he both authored new tracts and translated many English tracts which were widely read. It is easy to see that the Temperance Society had become a vehicle for his missionary work, one which he used to the utmost.

In the autumn of 1833 the question of Mr. Scott's re-appointment as a missionary to Stockholm came before the Committee in London. It was resolved: "That the Committee are of the opinion that considering Mr. Scott's special suitableness for the mission at Stockholm and the success which has attended his labours there, it is expedient that his stay should be prolonged at least three years beyond the time first fixed, thus extending the period to seven years in the whole."[77] Mr. Scott's star was riding high.

The greatest of all Mr. Scott's efforts, however, was to be in the cause of missions. Interest in missions in Sweden, as we have already

seen, had risen slowly but surely during the second and third decades of the century. The work of the missionaries from Herrnhut as well as those from the newer missionary societies in Basel, Berlin and Rotterdam were well known, thanks not only to the literature of the Tract and Bible Societies, but also to the short-lived missionary papers. Ministers in high places such as Professor Hylander at the university in Lund and Bishop Wingård in Gothenburg continued to speak out for the need of a missionary society in Sweden. As a missionary himself, Mr. Scott was eager to help promote the cause in every possible way.

An important factor which added to this rapidly growing interest in missions was the ordination of Peter Fjellstedt as a missionary for the Church Missionary Society in London. He had studied under Professor Hylander in Lund where he had come in contact with the Brethren and their zeal for missions. When Mr. Fjellstedt completed his studies, Professor Hylander secured for him a teaching position in Gothenburg where he became a member of the Society of Brethren in 1826. Here he continued his studies and was ordained a minister in 1828. Meanwhile his interest in missions grew, urged along by both the missionary J. C. Moritz and by the minister of the Brethren, Efraim Stare. He decided to become a missionary and then had to look for a place outside of his own country to prepare himself. Mr. Moritz suggested he go to Basel. He applied for and received a place to study at the Missionary Institute there. After a short period of study, he was appointed a missionary for the Church Missionary Society in London and went to Tennevelly in India. Before going to India, he made a visit to Sweden, stopping first in Gothenburg in January 1829. Here he met again his old friends among the Brethren, and his

missionary zeal made a deep impression. They were, in fact, so inspired that a month later, on 15 February these Brethren formed the first missionary society in Sweden. It bore the name The Swedish Missionary Society in Gothenburg (Svenska Missions Sällskapet i Göteborg).[78] News of this new society spread rapidly and interest was aroused throughout the entire diocese.

The aim of this society was a simple one - to spread knowledge about missions. And in this, they succeeded. Newspapers and tracts were brought over from Herrnhut, translated and distributed throughout all of Sweden. Unfortunately, the quantities were small and so these papers were destined to reach mainly other groups of Brethren, and as a result, the hoped-for growth did not eventuate. Their influence in Gothenburg however, where they opened a reading room for the general public, was enormous.

After Peter Fjellstedt concluded his visit to Gothenburg in 1829, he went to Stockholm where he was welcomed gladly by the Brethren as well as the many others there who were interested in building a missionary society. He was immediately put in touch with many of the men who were on the committees of the Bible and Evangelical Societies, and to them he put forward the suggestion that they form a sort of support society for the Basel Missionary Society. After a certain amount of persuasion, due in part to the lack of any other suggestion, the men agreed to this. But for some reason, interest seemed to lag, and little was done.

When George Scott came to Stockholm in 1830, he began, as has been stated, to hold missionary prayer meetings on the first Monday evening of each month. Historians are in agreement that his first such

meeting was undoubtedly the first missionary prayer meeting ever to be held in Stockholm. To Mr. Scott, this meeting would have been nothing whatsoever out of the ordinary. He had come from a land where missionary prayer meetings were a regular occurence within the life of the church, so it was quite natural that he should have such meetings in his church in Stockholm. This was in September of 1830, presumably attended only by Englishmen and conducted in the English language to a small congregation. Only a year and a half later, on 2 January, 1832 Mr. Scott held the first such prayer meeting in Swedish and, according to Westin, "The crowd in the chapel was enormous, and large numbers could not gain admittance."[79] At these meetings, Mr. Scott would speak on some aspect of missions, read some letters from missionary papers, pray for particular missions, and did not fail to take an offering for missions. As Sweden had no missions to which to send these monies, they were sent to other missions, the first going to a Methodist mission in Barbados. These meetings became and remained popular, the chapel filled at every meeting.

Mr. Scott's next project was to publish a missionary paper. It was important that the spirit and activity of the missionary fervor in Stockholm, that had begun to rise sharply after Mr. Fjellstedt's visit, should spread to the rest of the land, and he trusted in the power of the printed word to accomplish this. He had hoped for the help of a few churchmen in this enterprise, but this help was not forthcoming and as a result, he found himself almost alone in the project. The first issue of his newspaper, called The Messenger (Budbäraren), came out in August of 1832. Unfortunately, it was not to see success, and after three editions it stopped. This in no way dampened Mr. Scott's missionary fervor, or even his desire to publish

a missionary newspaper - this failure simply meant delay. Soon much larger things would be attempted.

Nor did missionary fervor diminish among the other men interested in its promotion. One of the leaders in Stockholm was the Rev. J. P. Häggman who had been editor of the now defunct newspaper Uriel. Although he had had to give up this paper, which fact probably was one of the reasons he refused to help Mr. Scott with The Messenger, his interest in missions also grew rather than waned. He kept in touch with Mr. Fjellstedt and reported on his activities. He also kept in touch with other missionaries he had previously met as well as with the various European missionary societies. And while he had at first been strongly in favor with Mr. Fjellstedt's suggestion of a missionary work in Stockholm that would be supportive to the Basel Society rather than an independent Swedish society, soon after Mr. Fjellstedt's departure he changed his mind and began to promote the idea of a Swedish Missionary Society. Nor had Bishop Wingård in Gothenburg lost interest. At a meeting of the ministerium in that city in 1831 he again introduced the subject of missions saying: "Until the present, too little has been done in Sweden for the work of missions."[80] This was followed by a recital of what other countries were doing for missions. And in southern Sweden, the Rev. Johan Ternström wrote in his newspaper Siaren: "In Sweden there is little interest in Missions. Stockholm is perhaps the only capital city in Europe, at least in the protestant countries, that as yet has no missionary society ... It is certainly necessary, to first send missionaries to our Swedish desert, to awaken the sleeping public; but it would also be desirable if this cause, so closely related to humaneness could gain more support amongst us."[81] In religious circles all over the country the subject of

missions simmered and seethed with increasing heat and the conversation from which it was omitted was rare. But in spite of this, there yet seemed to be no one who had the power or the drive to convert the thought into the act.

Then in 1834, matters began to move toward their eventual conclusion. Early in the year, Mr. Scott, at his monthly missionary prayer meetings brought to the attention of his congregation the plight of a Methodist mission station on the island of St. Barthelemy in the West Indies. The mission, which had been there since 1796 was in the process of decline, due to lack of financial support. The significance of this was the fact that St. Barthelemy was a colony belonging to Sweden! Surely it was the duty of the Swedish people to come to the aid of the people - and the mission - on Swedish land. And the best way to do this, Mr. Scott was quick to point out, was through a Swedish Missionary Society. It was a powerful argument.

In April, Mr. Scott and his friend Mr. Keyser made the decision to meet with a few friends to actually make some plans for a missionary society. This meeting took place on the 17 April. This group of friends, George Scott and Mr. Keyser, and very probably Samuel Owen, the Rev. Häggman and Andreas Warnke - not only decided that a Swedish Missionary Society would be founded, but went so far as to decide upon the rules upon which it should be founded. On the 9 May, 1834, Mr. Scott sent the following report to his own missionary committee in London: "A few friends of missions belonging to various Christian denominations have during the last month had several lengthened meetings, and a series of rules based upon most Catholic and excellent principles have been agreed on as the rules of the Swedish Missionary Society. His excellency Count Rosenblad, President of the Bible Society expresses

himself willing to lead the proceedings - and the Bishop of Gottenburg is also friendly ... So far the way is prepared, and I am convinced the subject is now started not to be again laid to sleep."[82]

These men then agreed that without delay a missionary type of newspaper should be printed and distributed. It would be the best means of publicity and for gathering support. With the Rev. Mr. Ternström as editor, the new publication, called simply Missionary Newspaper (Missions Tidning) was first issued on 9 July, 1834. It was an immediate success and was soon known in most parts of the land. It contained information about both British and German missions, related stories sent by their missionaries and published translations of articles from the missionary newspapers from both Herrnhut and Basel. Mr. Scott, again grasping the opportunity at hand, worked untiringly for this venture and saw it not as an end in itself, but rather as the means to a much greater end.

But even with all this activity, a missionary society had still not been officially formed. Mr. Scott was not, however, about to allow this great project to fail to come to completion and "worked during the summer and autumn of 1834 with indomitable zeal to persuade leading and influential persons such as Rosenblad, Sparre, Bishop Wingård and Bishop J. O. Wallin to make themselves available for founding a Swedish missionary society."[83] He had the wisdom not to try to form such a society within the small circle of his congregations and friends - this would be far too limiting. He waited, instead, till he had the full support of these men whose influence, prestige and backing would remove any doubt or suspicion from the enterprise, thereby ensuring its success among all classes throughout the country. This was important, for

as yet the clergy in Stockholm were not at all ready to commit themselves to such a cause - which fact could prove a difficult hindrance to the success of all these plans. In the letter of the 9 May he also wrote: "In the event of a Missionary Society coming into activity here, it is intended to hold Monthly Prayer Meetings in connexion with that Society - and as I may safely say, no Swedish priest can be found to conduct such a meeting."[84] Moreover, he had to rely on himself and his own resources for these meetings, for, he goes on to say: "I forsee that they will be held in the English Chapel and conducted by your missionary."[85] It is quite clear that Mr. Scott was not only the driving force behind all the work that was eventually to bring about a Swedish Missionary Society, but that it was his hand that directed the whole.

Mr. Scott's Work, 1835-1842

> Formation of the Swedish Missionary Society; Activities of the Committee; Carl Ludwig Tellström, Missionary to Lapland; Margaret Scott, Missionary to St. Barthelemy; Success of the Tract Society; Growth of the new Bible Agency; Mr. Baird and the Formation of the Swedish Temperance Society; the Affiliate Temperance Society; the Work of Peter Wieselgren for Temperance; the Big Temperance Meetings; Pastoral work; the New Sunday Schools; the new Church; the First Methodist Society formed; Mr. Scott's visit to America and the Unexpected Result.

On 9 January, 1835 Mr. Scott sent the following message to his friends in London:

> "Thanks be to God the Missionary Society so long talked of here is at last formed. This for Sweden important event took place last Tuesday the 6th. On the morning of that day, knowing that Count Rosenblad, Bishop Wingård, General Sparre, Dr. Pettersson and Mr. Keyser were to meet on the subject, and fearing that mere loose talk leading to no result would be the only effect of the meeting,

> it was impressed on my mind that I should go to Mr. K. and suggest to him that as that day was held sacred in commemoration of the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles no day could be fixed as more proper for the formation of a Missionary Society. I did so - and the finger of God was in it, for it was not till Mr. K. made a reference to this, that any decision seemed likely to be come to - but directly afterward the aged County Rosenblad seemed to receive new light and declared that altho' many subsequent arrangements were necessary - that the Swedish Missionary Society from this day to be considered as formed. Bishop Wingård undertook to write a memorial requesting His Majesty's sanction to the rules. As a proof of the Catholic Spirit in which the Society commences, Count R. stated that Pastor Warnke of the Moravian Church, and Pastor Scott of the Methodist must as representing so large a proportion of the Mission work be invited to become members of the Committee."[86]

Mr. Scott could have had no greater blessing than to begin the new year in this fashion. He had worked tirelessly for many months for the formation of a missionary society and now his hopes were fulfilled, he had received his reward. He wrote to the Committee in London: "When I survey the probable results of the formation of this society, I am constrained to say had I come to Sweden for nothing but this, it is enough."[87]

The work of the Committee of the new society, of which Mr. Scott was to be a member, having been asked to be its foreign correspondent, now began. Royal sanction was sought and received on 27 February, 1835. Officers were chosen and Count Rosenblad, still president of both Evangelical and Bible Societies was asked to be president of this group also. Other members of the committee included several men who had been working with either or both the other societies, in particular Bishop Wingard and Mr. Keyser. The latter, a Stockholm merchant and faithful member of the Moravian group in that city, had probably the longest history in this work. He had worked closely with both Mr. Henderson and Mr. Paterson and had been instrumental in founding those societies.

Later on, Mr. Scott was to refer to him as "The factotum of all religious operations in Sweden."[88] The aim of the new Society, which had been stated as part of the rules was for, "The spread of Protestant Doctrine among the Heathen."[89] Their first official meeting took place on the 3 April, 1835.

The Committee was quickly plunged into all the various activities and problems of the work. Where and how would they find candidates for missionaries? Where would they send them? How and where should missionaries be trained? Where would the money come from? One by one they tackled these problems, and one by one they were solved. And in each solution, Mr. Scott's guiding hand could be seen.

It was agreed that the first job to be done was to make the society known throughout the country. And at their disposal they had a ready-made vehicle - the Missionary Newspaper. In addition to that, copies of the announcement Bishop Wingård had written to all the bishops in April about the decision to form a missionary society, together with the proposed rules of the society, and a request for their assistance in founding branch societies in their respective dioceses were to be printed and sent out. This would assist in tying the new society to the church - a most important factor for success. Seven thousand were printed and sent, not only to the bishops, but also to the newspapers, who willingly distributed them along with their publications.

This publicity also served a second and very important function - it served as a means of recruitment for missionaries. It was not long before candidates began to present themselves to be trained as missionaries. Between 1835 and 1845, sixteen were to apply to the committee.[90] There was some difficulty as to how to proceed with the screening of

these volunteers, so when Mr. Scott went to London in 1837, he obtained a copy of the application blank used by the London Missionary Society, which he subsequently showed to the Committee in Stockholm. They found this form to be more than adequate and directed Mr. Scott to formulate a similar one which would be suitable for the Swedish Society.

However, once a more careful screening of the candidates had begun, the sad fact came to light that only one of the sixteen was acceptable. The Basel Missionary Institute which had, thanks to the relationships built in 1829 through the assistance of Peter Fjellstedt, agreed to train missionaries for the Swedish Society, required previous training which most of these men did not possess. Some volunteers, upon closer investigation proved to be quite unsuitable for the work. Until 1844, with two notable exceptions, both of whom were recommended by Mr. Scott, no candidate had been agreed upon and accepted. Inasmuch as the two exceptions would not need training at Basel, there was no one to send there. Nor therefore, was the question of where to send missionaries pressing. Mr. Scott, however, wrote to Basel and to the school for training missionaries at Herrnhut, keeping the contacts open till such time they would have need of them.

The first of the two exceptions, and the first candidate to be accepted and sent by the Swedish Missionary Society was the young painter, Carl Ludvig Tellström, the same young man who, under Mr. Scott's direction had begun a Sunday School in Stockholm. He had, by this time, greatly broadened the scope of his religious activities. Not only did he assist Mr. Scott with the services in the English Chapel, but he distributed tracts and invited people to come to the services at the Chapel. He had also given up his work as a painter in order to devote

all of his time to religious work and become a colporteur for the British and Foreign Bible Society's agency in Stockholm.

As a close friend and co-worker of Mr. Scott, it is not surprising that this young man developed an interest in missions, and he confided to Mr. Scott that he had a great desire to become a missionary. As early as 1834 he had become interested in Lapland and began to study the Lapp language on his own. It seems quite probable that he had read Petrus Laestadius' journal which had been published in 1831, and that work had fired his interest. Mr. Scott, realizing the opportunity at hand, brought this information to the attention of the Committee, who lost no time in acting upon it. Mr. Tellström was accepted, and thus became the first missionary to be sent out by the Swedish Missionary Society. He would be sent to Lapland where the church had, for many years, felt there was much work to be done both in eduation and religious training.

Lapland was to prove a wise and fortunate choice. For many years the Moravians had been sending their missionaries there, and they had long proclaimed the great needs of the Lapp people. They were nomads with no homes and no formal education and no one to minister to their spiritual needs. Years later Mr. Tellström was to write: "If a friend of missions inquire in what condition the Laplander is found, the answer, without any hesitation must be, in a very degraded one. His wandering life must necessarily make him a rude, shy, ignorant and superstitious being."[91] Interest in Lapland had come to the fore in 1808 when Messrs. Henderson and Paterson traveled there and brought back their reports. It was well known that due to the connections they had made on that trip, the Evangelical Society had sent many tracts there, and that in 1811, with the help of Bishop Nordin in Härnösand,

and the financial support of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a New Testament in the Lapp language had been printed. The fact that many of the men who had been involved in that work were now active in the Missionary Society insured that this would indeed be a popular enterprise.

Mr. Tellström sailed north to Lycksele on 29 June, 1836, where he was to begin further study of the Lapp language as well as to receive training from the present bishop, F. M. Franzen. The church was eager for schools to be started in this area, and to that end Mr. Tellström applied himself. By 1839 he had two other catechists to work with him, and three schools had been opened. Mr. Scott kept in close touch with the missionary and gave his testimony to the young man's diligence in a report to the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine: "He has recently made a tour through the principal villages in the widely-extended parish of Lycksele, for the purpose of holding prayer meetings, and otherwise promoting the spiritual welfare of the people ... He travelled on foot upwards of one hundred miles."[92] Mr. Tellström, having been for several years a disciple of Mr. Scott, was in most respects a Methodist, and as such would teach reformed Evangelical Christianity to his pupils rather than pure Lutheranism as adhered to by the clergy in the society that sent him. This was to be evident for many years in various parts of Lapland, and contribute to the revivals there.

In 1838 a second particular missionary project was undertaken by the Society, again through the interest and direct intervention of Mr. Scott. He had continued, at the missionary prayer meetings to pray for the Methodist Mission on the Swedish island of St. Barthelemy in the West Indies. Nor had he ceased to write about it in the aforementioned Missionary Newspaper. In 1837 a hurricane had caused great destruction

on the island, a fact which Mr. Scott was quick to bring to their attention, suggesting that help should be offered. The Committee voted to send £50. Mr. Scott also informed the Committee that he had learned of the need for a teacher in the mission. As it happened, Mr. Scott's sister Margaret, a teacher, was visiting just at that time with the Scott family in Stockholm. The matter was evidently discussed at home, for Mr. Scott informed the Committee that his sister had expressed her willingness to go to St. Barthelemy to teach, provided support could be found. He then suggested that the Committee offer to pay £60 for her support, providing the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London would agree to send her. The Swedish Society agreed, as did the London Society, and so in 1838 Miss Scott became the second missionary of the Swedish Missionary Society. In retrospect, this decision is an amazing one, when one considers that this Swedish Society was to sponsor as their missionary a Scottish teacher in a Methodist Mission, and who herself was a Baptist! This in itself witnesses to the extent of Mr. Scott's influence on the Swedish Committee. According to the annual reports, this support for Miss Scott continued until 1845, at which time she married and moved to England.

In the meantime, many people, inspired by the news of the Missionary Society, began to send in contributions to the Committee. As branch societies began to spring up about the country in response to the appeal from Bishop Wingård, large missionary offerings began to come from them. Soon monies were coming in from all parts of the land. People whose lives had been touched by revival, and whose spirits were therefore anxious to do whatever they could to further the Gospel sent their donations. Whereas before they had only been vaguely aware of nebulous hordes of heathen in faraway lands, these dim figures now, through

articles in the Missionary Newspaper became real. There actually were tribes of warlike savages and chieftans with names they could hardly read, much less pronounce, and they now took on character and personality. Peculiar names of the missions and their surrounding areas became real places where these people lived, and where the missionaries actually went. What had previously been remote and therefore of little interest, had now become real and fascinating. A whole new world opened up for the reader, and deep in their hearts many longed to become a part of it. Sending a contribution was one way to do so. Mr. Scott and his fellow editors showed positive genius in selecting, translating and authoring colorful and inspirational articles for publication.

As the money continued to come in, it became obvious that something had to be done with it. The Society was still too young to have its own fields of work, nor was it strong enough. Again it was Mr. Scott who came up with a solution. At his suggestion it was decided that these monies should be sent to other societies who already had established missions. They chose four : The Basel Missionary Society, Moravian Missions in Herrnhut, the London Missionary Society, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society - four quite obvious selections because of both previous and present connections with each. This procedure continued until 1841.

Mr. Scott worked actively in the cause of missions until he left Sweden in 1842. He continued his work as foreign correspondent for the Missionary Society and maintained contact with the four missionary societies with whom they were affiliated. He wrote to many missionaries, whose replies, filled with the colorful anecdotes which so captured the interest of the Swedes, found their way into the Missionary

Newspaper. He wrote many articles which appeared in that publication, and contributed to it translations of articles from other missionary newspapers. Together with Mr. Keyser, he kept in touch with all who wrote and wished to become missionaries, and they were in charge of screening the candidates. He continued to hold missionary prayer meetings in the English Chapel until April of 1836, when they were moved to Ankehus Church because the crowds were too great for the Chapel. He was, as long as he remained in Sweden, the driving force in this society.

It is amazing to realize that with this seeming overload of work for the Missionary Society, Mr. Scott at no time neglected his work with the Evangelical Society and the Agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Because he stepped in with new ideas, vigor and spirit, the work of the Evangelical Society, which had almost come to a standstill was re-activated. He again contacted the Religious Tract Society in London in 1835 and they responded, sending a gift of £30 to the Swedish Society.[93] And in 1836: "On the suggestion of Dr. Henderson a notice was given of a further grant to the Stockholm Evangelical Society not exceeding £50."[94] As a result of this help, a record number of 97,175 tracts were distributed in 1836.[95] This was an increase of over 12,000 over the previous year, which itself had been a great increase over the year preceding it. Early in 1837, Mr. Scott reported that the Evangelical Society was again extending its operations. Count Rosenblad renewed his efforts for the society and enlisted the help of the bishops, many of whom agreed to cooperate. This seems surprising because so many of the tracts now being printed were the despised English tracts. Mr. Scott had employed four colporteurs for the distribution of both tracts and Bibles, a fact which Dr. Ribbner

considers to be of great importance. He states: "Laymen felt more and more a personal responsibility and devoted themselves to the religious objective. Tract distribution was considered (by them) preparation for revival."[96]

Early in 1837 Mr. Scott requested another £50 from the Religious Tract Society, grateful acknowledgement for which was received at their meeting on the 28 March.[97] At the annual meeting of the Religious Tract Society on the 5 May of that year, Mr. Scott was present and spoke to its members. He brought them greetings from Stockholm, and concerning the Society there he reported that it had "For a time lain inactive. But a great revival had taken place. Conversions had also occurred by reading the tracts."[98]

The activity of the Evangelical Society in the year 1835 to 1837 reflect Mr. Scott's work and show that in those three years, 309,078 tracts were printed and distributed, the largest year being 1837 during which 123,078 were distributed.[99] Then in 1838 the number fell dramatically. That year only 65,579 tracts were distributed.[100] Dr. Ribbner explains that this drop was due in part to the death of many of the men on the committee, and in part to the fact that opposition had again arisen to the reformed nature of the tracts. Inasmuch as Mr. Scott, a Methodist, and therefore a separatist, was so instrumental within the Evangelical Society which had published these tracts, they could only lead to separatism in Sweden, and this was not to be tolerated. A drive mounted by the clergy against the Society was successful. It should be pointed out, however, that this was not the feeling of the entire clergy. In the Archdiocese as well as in the dioceses of Linköping, Skara and Växjö were, "Many zealous ministers and school teachers who, each within his own circle, wished to distribute

tracts."[101] Dr. Ribbner also points out that just at this time, in many localities in these particular dioceses great revivals were taking place. He adds: "From this it is clear that an obvious connection between the Evangelical Society and its work and the local revivals and their leading figures of this time when the large folk revivals began, can be found."[102] All the same, opposition became so strong, that the Society had no choice but to reduce their activities. And by 1841 their work had come to an end.

Mr. Scott, however, was not one to accept defeat. He proceeded to print tracts himself, and late in 1837 had John Newton's Three Letters to Awakened Christians printed and distributed. These were so eagerly received that in 1839 Mr. Scott created a small branch agency to the Bible Agency for the express purpose of printing and distributing tracts. He reported to the London Society: "On 18th June the Rev. A. Warnke, Moravian minister, and W. C. Bruzewitz, Under Secretary in the Ecclesiastical Offices and Editor of the Swedish Missionary Journal, and Mr. G. T. Keyser, agent of the Bible Society have consented to unite with me as an agency for receiving, employing and accounting for any grants this society may place at their disposal. They propose to employ any sum that may be so voted them in purchasing tracts from the Evangelical Society, being faithful translations of the Religious Tract Society's Tracts, in reprinting such as may have run out, and publishing new tracts."[103]

When this communication reached the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, help was quickly forthcoming in both money and tracts. "Notice given of a grant for Swedish translations of this Society's tracts in the amount of £50",[104] appeared in the minutes in October of 1839. With this assistance, the new branch agency proceeded to

re-publish a large number of the English tracts formerly printed by the Evangelical Society, and these were distributed throughout the next ten years. And by this time, Mr. Scott had found, through his acquaintance with Mr. Robert Baird of New York, a new source of funds. In the Annual Report of the American Tract Society for 1839 is found this communication from Mr. Scott: "It is my settled conviction that great good could be done in this country by a liberal distribution of suitable tracts. I have been eye-witness of the eagerness with which they are sought in country places; and have known instances, not a few, in which they have been evidently blessed to the conversion of souls."[105] This correspondence bore rich fruit and in 1841 the agency received a considerable contribution from the American Society for publishing tracts in Sweden. Mr. Scott made this report to them in 1841: "That the new agency had published eleven tracts totalling 120,000 and ten handbills totalling 100,000 from monies which had come from London and the ATS in New York."[106] Through the establishment of this agency, Mr. Scott not only succeeded in publishing and distributing tracts which he considered to be awakening agents to precede revival, but ensured the continuation of this work after his departure the following year.

The work of the Bible Society Agency too was forging ahead with great success. With money now coming from the British and Foreign Bible Society, many Bibles and Testaments were printed and distributed in all the dioceses of Sweden. There was not the opposition to this work that confronted the Tract Agency, for there was no printed interpretation to disagree with. The annual report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1838 showed that since the beginning of the agency in 1832, nearly 21,000 Bibles and Testaments had been distributed.[107]

The number of colporteurs increased and were now travelling in all parts of the country. And with their increase, the number of conventicles increased. The colporteurs, upon arrival in any small village or cluster of cottages in remote parts of the country as well as in the towns would gather people into small groups and read to them from both Bible and tracts, often adding little homilies to help explain what had been read. Acceptance of these conventicles depended entirely upon the opinion of the local minister. If he were one who considered them to be of help to his ministry and his people, they were permitted. If he were more or less indifferent, he may or may not have indulged them, often depending upon what pressures may have been put upon him. If he were against them, the colporteurs would very likely be taken to court, or with luck, just be asked to leave. But by that time, the Bibles and tracts were already in the hands of the people. While Mr. Scott continued to give of his time and energy to the work of this agency, it was probably Mr. Keyser who was the real agent, and it was he who saw to it that the work was done.

By this time, Mr. Scott had greatly increased the numbers of the colporteurs he employed to distribute tracts and Bibles, for he placed great faith in their ability to penetrate into all areas of the country. There were not exactly a new breed in Sweden - the Moravian missionaries who had for many years been travelling to the north had been colporteurs, in that they distributed their booklets wherever they went. But until now, the Swedes themselves had made little use of this means of communication. Now their popularity grew swiftly as people longed and waited for their arrival. By mid-century, several years after Mr. Scott had left Sweden, colporteurs were a regular part of the religious life there, and there was a colporteur's school in Stockholm where they

could get training. This venture was a far greater contribution of Mr. Scott than he is given credit for, and one which influenced Swedish Christendom for many years.

At the beginning of 1835, the work of the Temperance Society was not having the success that Mr. Scott would have liked. Many of the affiliated societies in the countryside had decided to adopt a moderate view of abstinence, although much to Mr. Scott's relief, none of them lasted very long. Many of the men in the Stockholm Society seemed to have lost their earlier fervor, to the extent that in the annual report of 1835 could be sensed, "A tone of resignation and discouragement."[108] And Mr. Scott later wrote to a friend in America, "The Temperance Societies formed in 1830 and 1831 were all but dissolved, and the few which still remained at their posts were much discouraged and ready to faint in their minds."[109]

However, with the arrival in the summer of 1836 of the Rev. Mr. Robert Baird, a Presbyterian minister from America, a new hope began to grow. Having for a long time been interested in the subject of temperance, Mr. Baird had, the previous year, published in Paris where he was engaged in working for the Protestant faith, a history of the Temperance Societies in the United States. Upon his arrival in Sweden he presented the king with a copy of his book. The king was so impressed with it that he requested permission from Mr. Baird to have it translated into Swedish and published. Permission was granted. After its publication, Mr. Baird, at his own expense presented a copy to every parish in the country! The results of this were so encouraging that Mr. Scott wrote in the same letter to America: "It would be quite impossible to give you any adequate idea of the effect produced by the circulation throughout the land of this book. As one of the

secretaries of the Swedish Temperance Society, I have the means of knowing, that in almost every instance where zealous temperance efforts have been commenced in the country, Baird's book has been cited as the moving instrument ... Of all the more distinguished temperance advocates I am acquainted with, there is not one who does not acknowledge, that it was the reading of Baird's book which decided to active exertion in this good cause."[110]

Mr. Scott and a few of his friends who had felt so disheartened over the decline of the Temperance Society were now filled with this same inspiration and decided to form a new society, which would be called The Swedish Temperance Society. Continuing in the same letter, Mr. Scott gives full credit to Mr. Baird's book for its formation, stating: "The Swedish Temperance Society, a new and most efficient institution ... owes its origin to the same source ... Seldom, if ever, has a single book in so short a time, produced such results in a whole country."[111] The new society would be formed on the same idea as the Bible Society, having well-known men placed in the positions of leadership. Mr. Scott spoke personally with the Crown Prince who happily agreed to use his influence to assure the willingness of these men. All plans met with success, and the Crown Prince agreed to be honorary president. Count Franc Sparre, who had been an active member of the Committees of both Evangelical and Bible Societies would be the president. Mr. Scott would be a member of the Committee, and he began immediately to publish and distribute tracts. The same men who in 1834 published the Missionary Newspaper now decided to start another paper, in the interest of temperance. And so, Friend of the Native Land (Fosterlandsvännen) came into being, its first publication arriving in November of 1836. The Rev. Mr. August von Hartmansdorff, state

secretary of the ecclesiastical offices, and who was in 1838 to become president of the new society, requested the new archbishop, J. O. Wallin (who had earlier been leader of the moderate temperance group) to give his sanction to the society, in hopes of tying it firmly to the church. But he refused. In spite of this, plans went ahead and the society's first official meeting took place on the 17 May, 1837, the king's sanction having been received on the 5 May. Again Mr. Scott had refused to accept failure, grasping the advantage at hand to turn it into success.

The names of neither Mr. Scott nor Mr. Owen appear on the roster of those present at the first meeting of the Committee on the 25 April - they were both in London. Mr. Scott's name appears for the first time at the meeting on 30 December of that year, at which time he presented a gift of £10 from the Temperance Society in America.[112] Thereafter his name appears regularly until 1841, when at the meeting of the 11 December, Mr. von Hartmansdorff, greatly troubled by the many difficulties which at that time beset Mr. Scott, refused to admit him to the meeting.

In December of 1837, the old Kungholms Temperance Society turned over its records and monies to the new Swedish Temperance Society, but this did not mean that that work no longer existed. Because many people in the countryside were in correspondence with the old society for tracts and papers, Mr. Scott was concerned lest they become confused, not knowing which society to correspond with. It was decided to simply change the standing of the old society, making it an affiliate to the new society. This was done, and in February of 1838 it now became known as The Swedish Temperance Society's First Affiliate Society in Stockholm (Svenska Nykterhets-Sällskapets Första Filial-Förening i

Stockholm). Mr. Owen would be president, Mr. Scott vice-president, and they would meet quarterly. One more society which Mr. Scott would help direct!

Because Mr. Scott's tracts on temperance had now been added to those carried by the colporteurs and so found their way into the hands of the people, the matter of temperance was becoming a burning issue throughout the country. These tracts soon reached a young minister in southern Sweden named Peter Wieselgren - a fiery young man who had for some time been battling the ill effects of alcoholism among his parishioners. In 1836, Mr. Wieselgren had founded a Temperance Society in his parish of Västerstad in Skåne. He kept in close touch with all that was going on in Stockholm, and made much of the many publications that proceeded therefrom. In 1837 he wrote an article which he sent to be printed in The Friend of the Native Land, in which he supported all Mr. Scott's ideas on total abstinence, and urged people to subscribe to both that publication and to the Missionary Newspaper. He even wrote to Bishop Wingård to draw him into the work, but failed. But Mr. Wieselgren's zeal was infectious and several other ministers in southern Sweden soon joined him in his religious-temperance drive, in particular, Professor J. H. Thomander in Lund and the Rev. Mr. P. G. Ahnfelt in Bosarp, both of whom were to accomplish great things for this cause. Branch societies were soon formed, and even though this was Schartau country, revivals sprang up rapidly. Several of the ministers of the area contributed articles to The Friend of the Native Land - but often to its disadvantage, so wildly enthusiastic had they become. Soon other supporters began to make themselves known from other parts of the country. As had happened in the Missions cause, a wide-spread network of societies and individuals, all working toward

one goal now seemed literally to cover the land. It cannot be denied that Mr. Scott's genius for organization as well as his drive and inspiration contributed greatly to this.

There seemed to be now a tremendous surge of enthusiasm for temperance in the north. It was decided to hold a large Missionary Temperance meeting for the people in the area of Njutånger in Hälsingland. Word of this meeting spread rapidly, and on the day, thousands found their way to that town to hear the sermons. Conventicles had been frequent and well-attended in this area, where during the past few years, many revivals had taken place, and where a steady stream of colporteurs had distributed innumerable tracts. Both Missionary and Temperance newspapers were avidly read, and through these means, much had been done in the matter of temperance to improve the condition of the people. The following figures are available from the diocese of Härnösand, just to the north of Hälsingland : The number of brandy pans in 1834 was 161,000. In 1838 there were only 109,000; and the size of the pans were greatly diminished - only one-third as large; and by the end of that decade, over 50,000 persons belonged to temperance societies.[113]

This meeting was really in the nature of a religious meeting and was so successful that exactly one year later, a similar meeting was held in the south - in Jönköping in Småland on 1-2 July of 1840. At this meeting both Mr. Scott and Mr. Wieselgren were present. Ministers and laymen from all over southern Sweden attended - although the bishop of that diocese, Bishop Tegnér, stayed away. Many conventicles were held during these two days, and Mr. Scott, in great demand, attended as many as he could, speaking briefly at a few. Without question, he

was the leading figure at the Jönköping meeting and his name became as well known in the south as that of Mr. Wieselgren.

The following month Mr. Baird again came to Stockholm, in order to attend a second temperance meeting in northern Sweden, this year in the town of Hudiksvall. Because of the fame of his book, his name had become a household word in almost every corner of the land. Mr. Wieselgren also came to Stockholm, ostensibly to meet Mr. Baird, and so it happened that these three men, Scott, Baird and Wieselgren, whose names were synonomous with temperance in Sweden came to speak on the same Sunday in the English Chapel to record crowds. Mr. Scott's star was riding very high at this point and the English Chapel was now become the center of all temperance work in Sweden. Attached to it too was the work of missions, and it was known as a sure source of both tracts and Bibles.

On 19 August, the three men headed north to attend the meetings at Hudiksvall which were to begin on the 26 August. They held meetings at many stops along the way which were enthusiastically attended by huge crowds. When they reached Hudiksvall, they were amazed to find over 5,000 gathered there, among whom were 34 ministers.[114] The meetings here too were more in the spirit of a religious revival than simply temperance meetings, and the enthusiasm of the people moved Mr. Baird, who actually understood little Swedish to write: "It was one of the most cheering sights in the world to see such vast meetings of people, who seemed to devour every word ... Such a change as is now going on in Sweden, I certainly had no hope of seeing."[115] When the men returned to Stockholm in September, another large meeting was held at which Bishop Wingård took part. This was success indeed, and the temperance movement had truly become a religious matter, with close ties to the church.

However, not all the clergy were happy about what was going on, in particular Archbishop Wallin. With his approval, the antagonism of the clergy grew against Mr. Scott, and by now, many of them spoke out clearly to defame him. Some of the large newspapers joined in with them in a vicious smear campaign, and their anger was especially aroused by these large meetings. Too many people were listening to this foreigner - this Methodist! Moreover, the meetings were not strictly legal, and constituted a gross attempt at deceit. Westin states: "It was now not a question of conventicles, but here it concerned a large religious folk meeting under the cover of the matter of temperance."[116] But if the clergy and newspapers hoped to stop the work of the various organizations, they were laboring under false hopes. Mr. Scott's work for spiritual awakening in Sweden was well under way and was no longer dependent upon his participation alone. The work continued throughout the countryside by means of the countless conventicles. Through the colporteurs who found their way into every small parish and remote farm in Sweden with their evangelistic tracts, the causes of both Missions and Temperance became well-known, and a deeply ingrained part of religious life. People were also reading their new Bibles, learning the truths of God in a new light. The tracts also spoke to them of the new life offered in the Scriptures and pointed out how it could be attained. And thousands there were who earnestly wished to attain it - above all else. And so the revivals spread like fire and flood over the land.

Mr. Scott's contributions to the temperance movement in Sweden was almost as great as his contributions to missions. To begin with, the need for help and improvement was unbelievably great. Secondly, the interest was there before his arrival, but it took his initiative, his

remarkable ability to organize, and his tremendous drive to put into motion the interest and potential energies of those men who themselves saw the need for such work in their own land. He gave of himself unstintingly, a fact which served to inspire many others to do the same. Once he had shown the way to Mr. Owen and his friends, the first temperance society was formed. When interest began to lag and the society almost died, he again went to work and with new ideas and energy he inspired and led them to new and greater successes. It was this same initiative and drive that helped Peter Wieselgren to survive his early unsuccessful attempts and spurred him to greater commitment and eventual success with his temperance work in the south. As a result, Mr. Wieselgren continued, long after Mr. Scott's departure from Sweden to become the leader of the temperance movement there.

With all this work to hand - guiding the Missionary Society, both the Temperance Society and its Auxiliary, as well as both Bible and Tract Agencies, Mr. Scott was still first of all a minister, and had his small flock to care for. One might think that all the other activities would have pushed his pastoral duties into the background, but he did not fail to meet weekly with his classes and to preach at least three times a week, in both English and Swedish.

At the beginning of 1836 he still had only twelve names entered on his rolls for the Methodist classes.[117] According to his records, only ten regularly participated in the sacrament of communion.[118] They were evidently not a very stable or happy group, for Mr. Scott wrote of them: "O what a pity that half a dozen people who might all be helpful to each other bite and devour one another."[119] He preached in English every Sunday, and although the Chapel was full, the

congregation was largely composed of those Britishers who lived in Stockholm but were not Methodists - those attached to the Embassy, seamen whose ships were in harbor for a while, and others. He considered them all to be his parish, and never hesitated to minister to their needs. As a result they were faithful in their attendance in the Chapel. His most successful services, however, were those in the Swedish language. By the middle of 1838, the number of sermons in Swedish surpassed those in English - "English sermons, 39; Swedish, 63."[120] And the congregations for the Swedish services were far greater than those for the English.

The Swedish services were attended not only by the Swedes of the city, but by the many visitors coming to the capital from all over the country. Because the English Chapel was the place from which both Bible and tracts as well as information concerning both missions and temperance emanated, it gained the reputation of being the center of a living Christianity in Sweden. For this reason, it became "the place" for the country people to visit when they came to the city. Those who came could be sure of hearing the message they expected - it was always the same - that they must repent of their sins, receive God's forgiveness, strive to live a life of holiness and engage in good works. Many of those who heard believed, and experienced a renewal of their faith. Upon their return home they would tell of it to any who would listen, and many did. So in this way too, the Gospel spread.

Along with the services, his classes continued, and after a while began to grow. Early on these were seen by the Swedes to be conventicles, and therefore fairly harmless. As we have seen, by 1834 over 40 were enrolled in classes. The following year, he reported that there were 52 enrolled.[121] But as yet he could only count 11 as actual members in the Methodist Chapel.[122]

One problem which had troubled Mr. Scott during these years, yet had remained unsolved was that of the Christian education of the children of his congregation. Children too were souls in need of salvation and to continue to neglect them must have caused him many moments of guilt. It has been pointed out that the English members had little or no interest, and that he could in no way form any sort of Sunday School for the Swedish children without further pulling down upon his head the wrath of the Swedish clergy. Mr. Tellström had given up his class when he left for Lapland, and as far as is known, no one took his place. So Mr. Scott must have felt that this was a great void in his ministry. Then in 1834, Mr. Scott's friend and co-worker in the Temperance Society, Col. av Forsell became interested in the Infant Schools in England and decided to make a visit there to study these schools. They were actually Kindergarten schools for the children of working people in which Bible stories were told, religious stories read and hymns sung. When Mr. Scott learned of the Colonel's approaching journey, he directed him to Hull where he would be cared for and entertained by Methodist friends who were directly involved with the Infant Schools there.

When Colonel av Forsell returned to Sweden, he wrote a report in the form of a book in which he included a suggestion that any who would be interested in having such a school in Stockholm should contact him. He received twenty replies.[123] A meeting was held with these twenty, which Mr. Scott attended, and steps were taken to set up an Infant School. It was decided to first make an unofficial attempt - a trial run - which would begin on 26 January, 1836. Mr. Scott worked very closely with Col. av Forsell on this project and, according to Westin, He was the soul of "the entire undertaking."[124] Not only was he present

every day, but he wrote lessons for the children, which must have taken up hours of his time. This attempt proved so successful that in May a society to form Infant Schools was organized and Mr. Scott added the responsibility of being a member of its Committee to his already full schedule. In addition to this, he wrote a text book for the children and translated lessons in Natural History from English to Swedish. In August the school opened. In July he had written to his Committee in London: "Much of my public time has been during the last month taken up with arrangements for the opening of an excellently appointed normal Infant School, which I hope to see in full operation ere fourteen days elapse. The subscriptions and donations to this object are very encouraging, and though the work of rendering the English lessons into Swedish has been laborious, yet I feel it to be quite a part and a weighty part too of my broad commission to do all the good I can."[125]

After Mr. Scott had completed writing the lesson book, it was approved by the committee in charge of the work. But by the time it was ready for print, several major changes had been made on the proofs. He was outraged. He had spent much ill-afforded time on this project and had even explained the use of so much time to his Committee in London, saying: "The Directors of the Swedish Infant School Society strongly urged me to do this work. I hesitated for a time on account of my already numerous engagements, but anticipating that if I entirely refused, the work would fall into the hands of a person totally destitute of religious principle I was led to consider the matter a call of providence to lay a good foundation for the system as applied to Sweden."[126] Mr. Scott then went to the Committee - who proceeded to do nothing at all. The proofs were to stand. Mr. Scott promptly

resigned, and made this notation in his diary: "This being done by a proper authority I have nothing more to say. I have done my duty, and God will take care of the rest."[127] No explanation for this action on the part of the Committee is known. But Mr. Scott never lost his interest in the Infant Schools, and visited them from time to time as long as he remained in Sweden.

For several years now Mr. Scott, concerned for the many people who had to be turned away from his services because the English Chapel could not hold them, had been looking for a larger church in which to hold his services. As early as 1832 he had tried to rent the large Finnish church, chiefly for the Wednesday evening services when he preached in Swedish. But permission was withheld and he had to be content with Count deGeer's permission to build a balcony in the Chapel, which would permit an extra one hundred persons to attend. Even this early, many members of the Stockholm clergy were unhappy about the large congregations flocking to hear Mr. Scott preach in Swedish. His popularity was not pleasing, for as a Methodist he could only be preaching false doctrines, which would surely lead to separatism. Moreover, these Swedish services were, strictly speaking, illegal. For the time being, however, there was little to fear, for Lord Bloomfield, who had become a close friend to Mr. Scott now attended the Chapel Services regularly and defended him against all attacks. In his own defense, Mr. Scott answered the Swedish clergy stating: "Any who seek edification need not fear by their coming here to be led astray from their fundamental doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, but may rather expect by God's grace to obtain a more steadfast faith in these doctrines and a warmer zeal for the real welfare of their church."[128]

But by 1837 this same problem still existed. Great crowds of Swedes were still coming to the English Chapel to worship, and many were still being turned away because there was not enough room. Moreover, with the large meetings of both the Missionary Society and the Temperance Society being far too large to be held in the Chapel, Mr. Scott was finding the need for a large church of his own becoming urgent. Unhappy about having to borrow churches for these large meetings, he came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory answer to the problem was to build a new church, one that would be adequate for all his needs. There would be many problems - permission to purchase land, permission to build, and the formidable problem of financing such a project. But greater than any of these would be the problem of his own Committee in London, from whom permission even to enter upon such a scheme must come. How could he, with such a small British and even smaller Methodist congregation persuade the Missionary Society in London to go along with the idea? After all, to minister to the British congregation was the chief reason he had come to Sweden. Moreover, it was of utmost importance that this reason be kept clearly in the foreground. He later explained this to the committee saying: "The english department of the mission is only sufficient to furnish an excuse to the Swedish law for our being here, and to give us the opportunity of trying to do good among the natives."[129] The fact was that the British congregation had been diminishing - some had died, some had moved away, and others had not come to take their place. But in spite of that, would not a large church building be of great benefit to his large Swedish congregations? And what about the large Missions and Temperance meetings? Where else could these people hear the message he had been sent to preach? It was amazing in itself that these services were permitted to continue - were they not, in reality,

against the law? And was not their continuation, therefore, evidence that God willed it so? He then applied for and received permission from the king to build a Methodist Church in Stockholm, a fact which not only added weight to his persuasions to the Missionary Committee, but totally infuriated a large number of the Stockholm clergy.

Mr. Scott's persuasions were not without their results. In March of 1837, the Committee passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that Mr. Scott be requested to pay a visit to this country in time to attend the meeting of the Society in May next, and at this visit the whole subject shall be taken into consideration."[130] To Mr. Scott, this was a far more positive reply than he had dared hope for, so it was no doubt with high expectations he presented himself before the Committee in London the following spring. At the end of the meeting this resolution was passed: "Resolved, that the sum of £500 be allowed from the funds of the Society towards the erection of the proposed chapel in Stockholm."[131] His elation must have been boundless. Mr. Scott remained in Britain for six months, which time he used well for his cause, travelling widely and speaking frequently, and receiving offerings for a new church in Stockholm. In Edinburgh, he received the happy support of the now aging Dr. Paterson who could not have been other than overjoyed at Mr. Scott's reports of his work in Sweden. When he returned to Stockholm at the end of the year, he had a total of over £1,500 with him,[132] all designated for the new church building.

In his usual business-like fashion, Mr. Scott lost no time in beginning to plan for his new church. Early in 1838 he contacted a Scottish architect living in Gothenburg who drew up plans for a church in the style typical of British free churches. However, it was to be a full year before he was able to find and purchase a plot of land near to

the center of the city, which would be suitable. When the purchase was completed, another storm broke over his head, instigated by the entire consistory of the clergy, headed by Archbishop Wallin. The right of the Methodists to build a church had to be admitted - such a right had existed since 1781. What the Swedish clergy could not stomach and loudly condemned was the fact that Mr. Scott did not, as he ought, limit himself to preaching in English to the British congregation. He had the effrontery to preach in Swedish, to Swedes, who by all rights ought to be in their own Lutheran churches listening to Lutheran ministers delivering Lutheran sermons. One cannot help but wonder to what degree the wrath of the clergy was caused by their desire to protect their people and their faith, or by pure and simple jealousy against this foreigner who could draw such great crowds of their members to listen to his sermons and be so moved by what he had to say that many lives were changed from an unhappy existence to joyful living.

In October of 1839 Mr. Scott took another important step - one he had long hesitated to take, concerned about the reaction of the clergy. In conjunction with the 100-year jubilee of the Methodists in October he took this step. At the close of a large Swedish service in the Chapel he suggested that, "A Methodist Society composed of Swedes should be formed."[133] Those interested were asked to return in a few days time in order to organize formally the new society. But to this meeting only between 30 to 40 persons came, and of those, only 28 signed themselves on as members.[134] That Mr. Scott was aware of the significance of this step is reflected in his report to his Missionary Committee in London. He wrote: "Thus the ice is at last broken. I have passed the Rubicon."[135] In the light of the difficult circumstances that already

existed between him and the clergy, one is compelled to question why he did this at this particular time. It would appear from here to be either unbelievable courage or sheer foolhardiness.

All during that year building proceeded and the small hall was completed and dedicated in a service at which Mr. Baird preached. The main doors of the church were opened a few weeks later on the 24 October and several Swedish ministers spoke at the service. The new church was large - it could seat 1,100[136] - and from the very beginning was filled at all services. His large following among the people had no reason to be unhappy. But with the opening of the church, Mr. Scott lost more of his old friends, particularly among the clergy. It had become quite impossible for them to remain friendly in the face of the growing opposition, and in particular because his ministry was now being openly recognized as illegal. And the fact that he was now accepting Swedes into membership into the Methodist Church was separatism, pure and simple. It was not to be tolerated.

Late in 1841 Mr. Scott, at the invitation of Mr. Baird went to America to raise the funds necessary to liquidate the existing debts on the church. During this visit, Mr. Scott incautiously made some remarks about the Swedes which were not complimentary - a fact which his enemies in Stockholm were quick to note and use against him. They were furious that he should so abuse their hospitality. And what right did he, a Methodist have to criticize the Lutheran Church? The newspapers, scenting a lovely scandal, picked up the story, and for many weeks many bitter and vitriolic statements were made against Mr. Scott. When Mr. Scott returned to Stockholm late in 1841 there was a terrible hullabaloo, and he found himself in deep trouble, the likes of which he had never before experienced. The battle raged about him,

and spurious tales appeared almost daily, which in turn aroused large numbers of the public. These began to congregate outside the church at about the time of the meetings, and would shout and make a terrible racket, sometimes so loud that the service within the church had to stop. Finally, on Palm Sunday, 30 April, 1842, Mr. Scott's friends, fearing for his very life, smuggled him down to the harbor and put him aboard a ship bound for England. Thus ended Mr. Scott's ministry in Sweden.

Although Mr. Scott's stay in Sweden ended at that time, his mission did not. His work and influence, like that of his predecessors were to live on long after his departure. His contributions through the founding of both Missionary and Temperance Societies were to insure him a lasting place in the religious history of Sweden. Largely because of his efforts, the work of tract distribution became an important part of religious life and the revivals, and was to continue for many years. At the same time, he helped a faltering Bible Society to regain its impetus, and augmented its work with the new agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Through his extensive use of colporteurs the tracts and Bibles reached thousands of homes all through the land.

Due in large part to his encouragement, religious education of children and young people eventually grew into a flourishing Sunday School movement. The enthusiasm which all the meetings of these various groups engendered contributed greatly to the many revivals already in progress, and would be the inspiration to others. The natural contagion of this enthusiasm aided the work to spread and grow rapidly. Moreover, Mr. Scott's own enthusiasm and complete dedication to his work inspired

the men who worked with him to reach new heights of devotion and achievement, both up to and long after his departure.

His spirited preaching was the inspiration of much spiritual revival, not only among the people of Stockholm, but perhaps even more so among the people in both north and south where he preached particularly on the subjects of mission and temperance. His sermons were no educated lectures on morality or some uplifting subject. They were usually Bible exposition, and intended to speak to the listener about his own spiritual condition. Matilda Foy commented in her diary: "In the morning heard a splendid sermon. Each time Scott becomes more interesting, more diversified, and manifests a greater capacity to make even the most common Bible passage into something completely new for us."[137] His use of both Bibles and tracts was undoubtedly of great assistance to his preaching - they helped answer many of the spiritual questions which he, through his preaching raised in the minds of his hearers. As a result, many in his congregations were awakened to a new life, discovering that Christianity was not just a matter of living to a set of given rules which enabled one to endure an often drab and dreary existence, but rather a new and alive awareness of wonder and joy in a living fellowship with one's Lord which changed their attitudes from a lethargic acceptance of that dreary existence to a hope for a better life through a striving for holiness. The number of readers increased steadily and consequently the number of conventicles increased. This is particularly significant because it was so often in the conventicles that the revivals began. There also arose, through the conventicles a great spirit of freedom in worship and a desire to discuss and think through one's own religious problems. This freedom once attained was a heady glorious thing and would not only be tenaciously retained, but prove to be highly infectious.

And not to be overlooked is Mr. Scott's influence in the area of lay participation in religious work. He considered the recruitment, training and use of laymen to be of great importance, and proceeded to employ the laity in all his projects, in particular the colporteurs, who travelled the length and breadth of the country, distributing their Bibles and tracts and often giving short homilies or exegeses as they visited the many conventicles. It was necessary, he thought, to give laymen all possible opportunities to witness and to serve as well as to believe. In the Swedish Church few outside the circles of the clergy did much to advance Christianity which to him, was so important in order to attain that much-desired state of holiness. The importance Mr. Scott attached to lay participation was later revealed when writing about Mr. Tellström's work. Speaking of himself he wrote: "One of the most important results of the Missionary's labours in Sweden has been to break the ice on this question and, by demonstrating the desirableness, practicability, duty and blessedness of engaging in such labours of love, to lead the spiritually enlightened to exert themselves in a suitable manner for the conversion and salvation of their fellow-countrymen."[138]

It was, however, through the lives of those with whom he so closely had worked that Mr. Scott may be said to have achieved his most lasting success. The first of these, Mr. Tellström we have already mentioned. He was to continue working as a missionary in Lapland for many years, with seemingly small but unquestionably lasting results. In a letter to Mr. Scott in 1851 he wrote: "Besides three schools supported by the government, the Swedish Missionary Society has five ... More than a thousand children have in the Society's schools been instructed in the knowledge of God's Word, and the systematic doctrines of our Christian

faith."[139] And further on he added: "It may interest you to know how we in this desert manage a Sunday School ... We have to content ourselves if, on every second, third, sometimes even fourth Sunday we can call together our pupils."[140]

In the matter of Sunday Schools, two people who, although they did not work with Mr. Scott but were quite certainly influenced by him to promote this work in Sweden were Matilda Foy and Per Palmquist. As far as is known, there were no Sunday Schools, as we know them, to be in existence in Sweden until some years after Mr. Scott's departure. Then, in 1844 a young lady named Augusta Norstedt is known to have conducted one. But where it met or how long it continued is not known, except that it could not have been of too long a duration as in 1846 Miss Norstedt went to China as a missionary under the auspices of the Basel Missionary Society. A little more is known about a Sunday School started by Matilda Foy. It is not improbable to think that she was inspired to this work by Mr. Scott. As early as 1835, she made the following entry into her diary, following her attendance at a service in the English Chapel where she had heard Mr. Scott preach: "He developed it (the sermon) in a way so clear and comprehensive that I got a very good explanation of this much contested point. God gives salvation freely by grace, which we may receive through faith. But we must make that faith active (if I may say so) not passive, by letting it work good works. Such is now my conception of it and it satisfies my mind completely."[141]

Miss Foy did not begin immediately to set up a Sunday School, in fact not until 1844 when she became interested in Miss Norstedt's work. In January of that year she wrote: "In the morning, to the French Church, and from there up to the Sunday School, heard how well it went

for them. Mlle Norstedt has a most unusual gift for explaining."[142] Miss Foy also spoke with the Rev. Mr. Nordland, the minister in her parish about what was on her mind and he had encouraged her. Just how long the idea had been fermenting in her mind cannot possibly be known, but it could not have been a sudden thing. She had continued her attachment to the circles in the English Chapel, for she often mentions going to hear Mr. Rosenius preach. But she had clearly been inspired earlier by Mr. Scott's preaching.

Per Palmquist was a young school teacher who came into contact with Mr. Scott after his arrival in Stockholm in 1838. As a teacher he had become concerned about the need for better literature for children claiming: "The Swedish literature for children consisted almost exclusively of more or less absurd fairy tales without any moral edification or significance."[143] He obtained from Mr. Keyser some suitable books which Mr. Scott had left with him and translated them. When he went to London in 1851, he contacted Mr. Scott, and inspired by his Sunday School of over 250 children and some 20 to 30 teachers[144] returned to Sweden to work for and establish Sunday Schools in several parts of Sweden. From this time on, Sunday Schools grew and flourished in Sweden, greatly helped and encouraged by the many whose lives and faith had been renewed through the revivals which Mr. Scott had helped bring into being.

We have also seen how Mr. Scott inspired Peter Wieselgren, who later became Sweden's greatest promoter for temperance, and whose preaching did so much not only to bring revival during the next few decades, but also to help mend many lives and homes broken through the use of alcohol. He never deviated from his devotion to the idea of total abstinence, and considered it necessary for a life of holiness.

Four other men are of particular interest to this writing - Olof Pettersson, F. O. Nilsson, Anders Wiborg and Carl O. Rosenius. Through his contacts with the Seamen's Mission in Stockholm, Mr. Scott met Olof Pettersson, a young sailor who had had an experience of spiritual renewal in a Methodist mission in New Zealand. When he arrived in Stockholm, he found there the new Methodist church and quickly attached himself to it, becoming one of the original members whose name appears on the roll in 1839. As a Swede and therefore automatically a member of the Swedish church, he was considered by this act to be a separatist. He soon began to assist Mr. Scott in his work, and was employed by him as a colporteur. In 1841, Mr. Scott had obtained money from the American Seamen's Friend Society which was to be used for missions among seamen in Sweden, and he chose Olof Pettersson for this work in Stockholm. Mr. Pettersson carried on in this mission for many years, ministering to seamen from all over the world. He also made many trips all over Sweden, telling of his work and seeking support for it, and holding many revival services. He and his work thereby became widely known.

Mr. Scott first met Fredrik Olaus Nilsson at the big temperance meeting in Jönköping in 1840. He too was a former seaman and had become a Methodist following a religious experience in one of their societies in New York City, where he remained for four years, working as a city missionary. He returned to Sweden in the winter of 1840, planning to stay only for a few months. But after the meeting in Jönköping, he decided, after conversations with Mr. Scott, to stay in Sweden, and when Mr. Scott returned to Stockholm, Mr. Nilsson went with him. Not long after that, he went to the west coast, working as a colporteur, holding temperance meetings, working with children and gathering in

offerings for missions. When Mr. Scott received the money from the American Seamen's Friend Society to be used for seamen's missions in Sweden, part of it was allotted to Mr. Nilsson to start a mission in Gothenburg and generally do the same work in that city that Mr. Pettersson was doing in Stockholm. And like Mr. Pettersson, Mr. Nilsson also travelled widely, preaching and holding revival meetings. He continued his work for temperance, and in November of 1840 he founded a Temperance Society in Varo in the north of Halland province.

But it was not for this work that Mr. Nilsson was to make his mark in Sweden. While working as a missionary among the seamen in Gothenburg, he met another seaman, G. W. Schroder. He was a Baptist, and had many long talks with Mr. Nilsson and loaned him books to read about the beliefs of the Baptist Church. The result of this was that he began a correspondence with a baptist minister in Hamburg, the Rev. Mr. Oncken. In July of 1847 Mr. Nilsson went to Hamburg and was baptized. A year later, he was ordained as a Baptist minister, after which he returned home and formed in Landa Parish, not far from Gothenburg a tiny congregation of six persons who had been influenced by his Baptist teaching. The small group grew quickly and by November of 1849 they numbered 45.[145] As can be expected, the group soon came under the attack of the clergy and were harshly persecuted. As their leader, Mr. Nilsson, after many hardships was exiled in 1850, not to return to Sweden until ten years later. Letters from Mr. Nilsson telling of some of his hardships and persecutions appeared in the July and August issues of Evangelical Christendom in London in 1850, causing an enormous stir. Many letters were sent from Britain, as well as from France where the story had also been made known, to just about everyone in authority in Sweden, from the king on down, pleading for clemency and

the release of Mr. Nilsson. The Evangelical Alliance in Britain wrote to the king: "It can be regarded with no other feelings than those of sorrow and shame, when Protestants turn persecutors of each other ... The judicial authorities by whom he was tried, reluctantly convicted him, but were compelled to do so by the revival of an obsolete law ... Your memorialists confide in the wisdom of your Majesty, and in your Majesty's sense of what is due from an enlightened Government to the claim of justice, and to the rights of conscience, to render unnecessary any such wider demonstrations of feeling, by the extension, in the first instance, of your royal clemency, to the sufferer, and then by the adoption of such measures as may lead to the repeal and abolition of the obnoxious law."[146] Mr. Nilsson's letters had been put into the hands of the Evangelical Alliance by Mr. Scott who hoped for just this result. In this indirect way he was responsible for formidable pressure being put on the Swedish government, which would eventually result in the abolition of the restrictive church laws and freedom of religion in Sweden.

Mr. Nilsson's departure did not, however, indicate the end of the Baptists in Sweden. The little group struggled on in spite of continued persecutions until finally, in 1855 a young man arrived from America to be a Baptist missionary in Sweden. He was Anders Wiborg - a former minister in the Swedish church who had been a great admirer of Mr. Scott and under his ministry had experienced a renewal of his faith. He had been at one time, secretary of the Affiliate Temperance Society in Stockholm and was for a while editor of the Missionary Newspaper. For several years he battled with many doubts about the policies and beliefs of the Swedish Church and finally resigned his office as a clergyman. He came to Stockholm where he came into

contact with some Baptists who had come there. This contact resulted in his becoming a Baptist in 1851, and in 1852 he was baptized by Mr. Nilsson in Copenhagen. From there he went to America where he worked for the American Baptist Publication Society for three years, during which time he became well-grounded in Baptist beliefs. He then accepted their appointment to go to Sweden to "Act as preacher and leader of the dissemination for the propagation of Baptist ideals there."[147] This he did and subsequently became a great worker for the freedom of the church in Sweden. His earlier work with Mr. Scott was of great help to him in this work, as he was able to put into practice many of the ideas and techniques he had learned from that man. When he came to Sweden in 1855, he organized and became the leader of the Baptists who were there, and is considered by present-day Baptists in Sweden to be the founder of their church.

Perhaps the greatest of all the men who were influenced by Mr. Scott was Carl Olof Rosenius. His father, a minister, had become a member of the Evangelical Society as early as 1812, using their tracts in his ministry, and as a minister in Piteå from 1817 to 1823, undoubtedly took part in the revivals there. The young Carl Olof was therefore early exposed to the evangelical tracts and to the whole idea of revival. As a student in Uppsala in 1839, he heard about Mr. Scott and soon went to Stockholm to hear him preach. There he underwent a spiritual renewal, and as a result stayed on in Stockholm to become a lay minister and assistant for Mr. Scott. That Mr. Scott thought highly of him was evidenced in a letter to his Missionary Society in London when he wrote to them in 1841, just before going to America. He wrote: "As regards the Swedish Services, I could no doubt for a very trifling remuneration engage a devotedly pious and very acceptable

young man here, who has long appeared to me to be the assistant God had provided for myself ... He would undertake the Sabbath and Wednesday evening services and thus no interruption in the public ordinances result from my absence."[148]

With this new help at hand, Mr. Scott set out on still another venture. This was to be another missionary newspaper - his fifth newspaper venture in Sweden! - to be concerned with home missions, as a parallel to the existing Missionary Newspaper which concerned itself mainly with foreign missions. The first issue of this paper, called The Pietist (Pietisten) came out in January of 1842. Inasmuch as Mr. Scott had spent most of the previous six months in America raising funds for the church, this paper must have been largely the work of Mr. Rosenius. Its purpose was, "To meet the inquiries of earnest seekers of salvation and prove a means of communication between the godly scattered abroad in the land."[149] The paper was well, though not exactly enthusiastically received among the several evangelical groups but not, as could be expected, among the clergy. When Mr. Scott left Sweden, Mr. Rosenius became editor of the paper, and continued as such for many years. And when, only a few months after Mr. Scott's departure Anders Wiberg gave up the job of editing the Missionary Newspaper, Mr. Rosenius took on that job as well. Then suddenly The Pietist began to grow in popularity, and by August of 1848, 1,500 were printed for each edition.[150] By 1850, the number had risen to 2,000,[151] and in 1855, when the revivals were in full spate, they published 7,000.[152]

He also carried on with most of Mr. Scott's regular pastoral duties. He conducted small meetings on Sundays, preaching in the homes of the members, as the church was still closed. Eventually it became necessary to hire rooms as the homes could not accommodate the increasing

number of people, and the church was still closed. During the week he led the classes, now four, also in the homes. Missionary prayer meetings he held in his own home and wrote to Mr. Scott with some pride: "Mostly the offerings are larger than those in Enkehus Church, the only public prayer meeting now held."[153]

He was interested in the education of the children, though he did not himself do Sunday School work. Matilda Foy writes of a visit he made to the Sunday School which she taught together with Betty Ehrenberg: "Today we had 8 girls, but no new ones ... While Betty was busy with them, Rosenius came in. He sat down to listen, but interrupted a few times, speaking to the girls so very warmly and sincerely that they were surprised."[154] The rest of her statement, incidentally, indicates how strongly the tension between the church and the evangelical groups still existed, for she went on to say: "I was thankful, but at the same time afraid lest someone should come, for if Nordlund had come in just then he could, with good reason have suspected some conspiracy going on with Rosenius at the bottom of the affair, although it was all so innocent."[155]

One young man, Theodor Hamburg, who came often to hear Mr. Rosenius preach, usually in the company of Matilda Foy, was converted at one of the meetings, and soon thereafter offered himself as a missionary. He was accepted. After two years' study at Basel, he went in 1847 to China, supported by the Swedish Missionary Society, thereby becoming Sweden's first missionary to that land. The echoes of Mr. Scott's ministry were carried far beyond the Scandinavian penninsula!

Mr. Rosenius' schedule by now seemed to approximate that of Mr. Scott, but he was exceeding modest about it. In 1849, he wrote to Mr. Baird

in America, with whom he kept in contact: "My work is divided in this way; 1) Editing the two newspapers, The Missionary Newspaper and The Pietist; 2) Daily talks with those with problems; 3) Preaching at our meetings; 4) Correspondence with our friends out in the countryside."[156] The numbers who came to hear him preach increased steadily, and this resulted in several small revivals. Before long, the revivals spread and were a part of the many all over the country. By 1850 they were quite general, and by this time one could detect in them a growing murmur not only for freedom of conscience and worship, but definite talk of separation. For separation, however, Mr. Rosenius had no taste whatsoever. While he had been strongly influenced by Mr. Scott, and could be said to be very Methodist in much of his thinking, and his evangelistic style of preaching sounded more Methodist than Lutheran, he had no liking at all for the idea of separating from the Lutheran Church. His roots went too deep. And as time went on, he found himself more and more isolated from the growing numbers of separatists. Instead, his evangelical leanings found a different, but no less significant channel.

After Mr. Scott had left Stockholm, Mr. Rosenius as his closest co-worker, became the unofficial leader of the various evangelical groups. By 1850 the number of these groups had increased, mainly because there arose many differences over various theological points. He did not allow himself to become involved in these arguments - he felt that freedom of both belief and conscience were important, but mainly in respect to what it could contribute to the Church and to the total picture of Christianity in Sweden. Instead, he welcomed on 21 June, 1853 the formation of a branch of the Evangelical Alliance (founded in London in 1846) in Stockholm, whose aim was: "To work

for understanding and love among Protestants of different communions, but not themselves to establish one."[157] Some sort of central organization was sorely needed for all the various groups and the Evangelical Alliance seemed exactly tailored to do just this. In view of the existing church laws and the insular attitudes still held by many of the clergy, it is utterly amazing that such an organization as the Evangelical Alliance could even come into being in Stockholm! However, it was an uneasy existence, for arguments broke out between the Baptists and the Lutherans with the result that in January of 1856 the Lutherans proceeded to form their own group called Stockholm City Mission (Stockholms Stads-Mission). Mr. Rosenius associated himself with this group, becoming their secretary. It was still loosely connected with the church, as was the Deaconess Institute, recently founded in 1849, with which he also worked. Both these groups addressed themselves largely to what they called Home Mission (Inre Mission), an answer to the social challenge of the Gospel, to which Mr. Rosenius was devoted. As a disciple of Mr. Scott, he must often have come into contact with that man's deep rooted interest and activities in the church's action to help its people. The five areas of interest of this organization, which Mr. Rosenius helped to define were: "1) To visit the sick, privately and in the hospital; 2) To establish Sunday Schools in private homes; 3) To visit the poor, privately and in the poor houses; 4) To visit the prisons; 5) To seek to persuade fallen women to turn from the paths of vice."[158] One can easily imagine that had the choice been up to Mr. Scott rather than Mr. Rosenius, the five areas would have been exactly the same. This work grew, and by 1857 they were employing several colporteurs and publishing a paper.

In the meantime, Mr. Rosenius and several of his friends from the English Church had been gravely concerned as to the fate of that building. In 1851, the Rev. P. M. Elmblad expressed a desire to use it for his evangelistic services and sought permission from Mr. Keyser, in whose hands the key had been left. He contacted the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London, who in turn gave their permission. Mr. Elmblad preached there every Sunday, and soon the church was being used for other large religious meetings - for both Missionary and Temperance Societies. Then, in 1854, Mr. Elmblad and Mr. Rosenius, together with several other men formed themselves into a church society and bought the church from the Methodists. In 1855 a minister was hired to preach regularly and the church was renamed The Bethlehem Church.

The last organization to which Mr. Rosenius affiliated himself, and for which he is best known in Sweden today was the Evangelical Society of the Native Land (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen), formed on 7 May, 1856. It was exactly the kind of organization for which he had longed, although he had not seen his way clear to form one himself. That honor belongs to a young clergyman named Hans Jacob Lundborg, whose aim was to form, "An independent central organization within the church for evangelistic work, with emphasis laid on spreading printed matter."[159] To this end they began to write and publish many tracts that would be purely Lutheran literature. Mr. Lundborg, who at that time made a trip to Scotland where he met the very Rev. Professor James Lumsden at the University of Aberdeen who had advised him concerning the new society was quite willing to include some of the old "reformed" tracts. But Mr. Rosenius and many of his friends disagreed, and the Lutherans proved to be in the majority. As the colporteurs

they employed to distribute their tracts were expected to speak on and explain the messages in the tracts, which, it was hoped would lead to great evangelization within the church, they founded a school in which the colporteurs could be trained to do the job properly. To this work, along with all the other work Mr. Rosenius devoted himself, and with great energy and dedication proved himself a more-than-worthy successor to the work Mr. Scott had set in motion.

Mr. Scott's work and influence in Sweden is still known through the continuation of the organizations for which he was either directly or indirectly responsible. His preaching was the stimulus that brought about many revivals, which in turn changed many lives. Thousands were now reading not only their Bibles but also stimulating, edifying literature - it was easily available and it was cheap, thanks to the Bible and Tract societies. The Temperance movement, in which he played such a large part improved and sometimes actually saved the lives of countless persons who by themselves could not have conquered alcoholism. It was also a direct cause for the tremendous reduction in the production of brandy. His work for the propagation of missions made the Christians in Sweden aware of their responsibility to the heathen in the world, and led the way to correct this deficiency. Home Missions - helping the needy of any kind in Sweden itself - was an important part of his ministry, and he inspired many other ministers to work in this area. He cared for his little flock as a good shepherd, and his preaching won the admiration of those who heard him. He encouraged others to build the Christian education of children when he could not himself do so. All this, as well as his own personal life of Christian devotion inspired many young men who worked with him during his twelve years in Sweden to carry on his work with his spirit

and ideals. His enormous influence for good on Christendom in Sweden cannot be questionned.

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5. Ibid., p.12.

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12. George Jacob Holyoake, op. cit., p.34.

13. Gunnar Westin, George Scott Och hans Verksamhet i Sverige, Stockholm, 1929, p.106. "Kapellet bli för litet."

14. Ibid., p.113, footnote no.94. Quote from a letter of Warnke to Herrnhut. "Die Vorträge dieses jungen und begabten Predigers werden sehr gerühmt, vornehme u. geringe, gelehrte u. ungelehrte bewundern seine grosse Rednergaben und seine erlangte Fertigkeit in der schwedischen Sprache. Er predigt aber, wie ich von mehreren gehört habe, nur selten Evangelium, sondern moralisirt, demonstrirt u. philosophirt meistentheils, und das hören manche recht gern."

15. MS Joseph Stephens, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 11 May, 1827, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

16. MS Ibid.

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18. MS Joseph Stephens, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 11 August, 1828, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

19. George Jacob Holyoake, op. cit., p.30.

20. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.103. "Det är givet, att Stephens' förbindelser med den engelska ambassaden i hög grad gagnade hans verksamhet."

21. Ibid., p.113. "... av omvändelse och helgelse enligt ett mönster, som bar en i vårt lutherska land ganska främmande signatur."

22. Ibid. "När Stephens lämnade Stockholm, var marken på den nya metodistiska tegen verkligen ganska väl beredd."

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40. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.183.

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44. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.229, footnote no.130.

45. Ibid., footnote no.132.

46. MS George Scott, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 5 July, 1839, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

47. George Scott, letter to the Editor, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Vol. XVI, 1837, p.143.

48. A. P. Larsson, Bidrag till Svenska Söndagsskolans Historia, Stockholm, 1895, p.27. "... med hvilka han läste, sjöng, bad och samtalade om deras själars frälsning."

49. Ibid., p.27.

50. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.246. "Här var Scott banbrytare."

51. Torvald Ribbner, De Svenska Traktatsällskapen, 1808-1856, Uppsala, 1957, p.130. "Ung och gammal greps av väckelsen, såg det enda nödvändiga och sökte svar på huvudfrågan : Vad skall jag göra, att jag må bliva frälst?"

52. Ibid. "Frälsning innebar omvändelse, och omvändelse ledde till efterlevnad av samvetslagen, allt i tro på den i Kristus skedda försoningen."

53. MS George Scott, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 7 January, 1831, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

54. MS George Scott, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 2 April, 1831, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

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58. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.253.

59. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.139.

60. Ibid.

61. Twenty-ninth Annual Report, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1833, p.70, 71, Archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

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63. MS George Scott, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 2 January, 1833, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

64. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.261. "Denna omfattande verksamhet gav till resultat, att agenturen redan i slutet av 1834 hade spritt nära 40,000 biblar och testamenten och låtit trycka 11,000 biblar och 45,000 testamenten. Av de senare voro 15,000 exemplar pa finska språket."

65. Ibid., p.262.

66. Ibid., p.261, footnote no.91.

67. MS George Scott, letter to the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 7 October, 1830, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

68. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.272.

69. Ibid., op. cit., p.271. "När Pastor Scott kom till Sverige frågade jag honom angående dem uti England ... några dagar derefter tog jag Pastor Scott med mig till Öfverste Forsell ... Wi kommo då öfverens, att Forssell skulle kalla tillsammans några af sina wänner för att samtala uti detta ämne. Lekman kände alltmer ett personligt ansvar och fick ägna sig åt den religiösa uppgiften. Traktatspridning ansågs förbereda väckelse."

70. Ibid., p.273.

71. Ibid., p.276.

72. Ibid., p.275, footnote no.22.

73. Ibid., p.277.

74. Ibid., p.274, footnote no.17.

75. Ibid., p.279.

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77. MS Minutes of the Committee, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 2 October, 1833, Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

78. Bengt Sundkler, Svenska Missionssällskapet, 1835-1876, Stockholm, 1937, p.35.

79. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.265. "Trängseln i kapellet var oerhörd, och stora skaror kunde icke få tillträde."

80. Bengt Sundkler, op. cit., p.32. "För Missionswerket är i Swerige hittils allt för litet åtgjordt."

81. Ibid., p.38. "I Swerige interreserar man sig i allmänhet föga för Missionswerket. Stockholm är kanske den enda Hufvudstad i Europa, åtminstone i de Protestantiska Länderna, som ännu icke har något Missions-Sällskap ... Wisserligen behöfdes, att först sända Missionärer till wåra Swenska öknar, att wäcka den sofwande Allmänheten; men det wore ock önskligt, att denna menskligheten så närstående sak wunno mer deltagande ibland oss!"

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87. Ibid.

88. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., Vol. II, p.344.

89. Bengt Sundkler, op. cit., p.51. "Den Protestantiska Lärans utbredande bland Hedningarna."

90. Ibid., p.70.

91. Evangelical Christendom, Vol. V, 1851, p.120.

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93. MS Minutes of the Committee, Religious Tract Society, 22 September, 1835, Archives of the Religious Tract Society, Guildford.

94. MS Minutes of the Committee, Religious Tract Society, 22 November, 1836, Archives of the Religious Tract Society, Guildford.

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99. Torvald Ribbner, op. cit., p.139.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., p.144. "... Många nitiska präster och skollärare som var och en inom sin krets ville sprida traktater."

102. Ibid., p.145. "Av detta torde framgå, att det finns ett tydligt sammanhang mellan Evangeliska Sällskapet och dess verksamhet och de lokala väckelserna och deras ledande gestalter denna tid, då den stora folkväckelsen började komma i gång."

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104. Ibid.

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107. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.353.

108. Ibid., p.133. "En ton av resignation och modlöshet."

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110. Ibid., p.337, footnote no.22.

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112. MS Minutes of Nykterhetssällskapet, 30 December, 1837, Archives of the Nykterhetssällskapet, Stockholm.

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115. Ibid., p.469.

116. Ibid., p.454. "Nu var det icke fråga om konventiklar, utan här gällde det stora religiösa folkmöten i skydd av nykterhetssaken."

117. Ibid., p.362.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid., p.363.

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148. Gunnar Westin, op. cit., p.625, 626.

149. Ibid., p.622. Quote from Evangelical Christendom, Vol. IX, p.142.

150. Sven Lodin, C. O. Rosenius, Hans Liv och Gärning, Stockholm, 1956, p.127.

151. Ibid., p.186.

152. Ibid., p.205.

153. Ibid., p.128. "Oftast kollekten blifwit större än den i Enkehuskyrkan, den enda offentliga missionsbön, som nu hålles."

154. MS Matilda Foy, Unpublished Diary, Entry for 4 February, 1844, Archives of Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, Stockholm.

155. MS Matilda Foy, Unpublished Diary, Entry for 4 February, 1844, Archives of Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, Stockholm.

156. Sven Lodin, op. cit., p.173. "Mitt arbete låter sig så uppdelas; 1) Redigeringen av de tvenne tidskrifterna, Missionstidningen och Pietisten; 2) Dagliga samtal med bekymrade, eller själavård; 3) Predikandet vid våra sammankomster; 4) Korrespondensen med våra vänner ute på landsbygden."

157. Ibid., p.230. "Verka för förståelse och karlek mellan protestanter av olika kyrkosamfund men icke själv bilda något sådant."

158. Ibid., p.233. "1) Att besöka sjuka, enskildt och i sjukhus; 2) Att inrätta söndagsskolor i enskilda hus; 3) Att besöka fattiga i enskilda hus och i fattighusen; 4) Att besöka fängelserna; 5) Att söka forma fallna qwinnor att vända sig från lastens bana."

159. Ibid., p.240. "... En självständig central organisation inom kyrkan för det evangeliska arbetet med tyngdpunkten lagd på skriftspridningen."

CONCLUSION

The middle three decades of the nineteenth century were perhaps the most active and unsettled in the history of the Swedish Church. In spite of the several laws which had been passed over the centuries which were intended to protect the church from outside influences and keep it pure, new ideas had succeeded in finding their way into the country and influencing the minds of both clergy and laity. Early on, the Pietists had brought their message of living the life of holiness, to be followed by the Moravians from Herrnhut who brought their more mystical approach through an emotional awareness of the "blood and tears" of Jesus, and their practical rules for daily living. Then came the thinking of the Enlightenment from Germany and France which developed into the Neology of the Swedish Church. None of these movements in themselves caused much concern within the church until large numbers of their people began to emulate the Moravians and meet in small conventicles to read the Bible and other religious literature and to pray together. This caused great alarm among the clergy who passed, in 1726 the Conventicle Edict, forbidding the people to gather for such purposes and imposing severe fines on those who defied the new law. Other than that, little else had happened as a result of these influences to cause the Church to fear for its uniformity, for its pure Lutheran Orthodoxy. This resulted, in many instances, in a cold dogmatic Christianity, more concerned with the letter of the law than in a loving, caring Christ-like church.

When the four Scottish missionaries arrived in Sweden early in the nineteenth century, the church there appeared to them to be, with some remarkable exceptions, made up of a clergy whose interests lay mainly

in producing lofty and learned sermons concerned with moral or political issues and in pursuing the kind of gentlemanly existence which valued conversation, wit and social graces. They found the people, on the whole, to be secular-minded with little true warm religion in their hearts, and who attended church regularly on Sundays because failure to do so would be to break the law. They also found, however, those who were interested in seeking and promoting a kind of Christianity in which the individual sought to become Christ-like and to live a life of true and loving service to God. And with the help of these like-minded Christians, they would begin their work.

With the enthusiastic energy and fervor that characterized evangelical British Christendom, as well as their single-minded commitment to serving their Lord, these men launched their campaigns to bring new life and inspiration into Swedish Christianity. Believing in the power of the printed word, they founded both Bible and tract societies. They promoted the idea of Missions, teaching that in order to live, Christianity must witness and reproduce. They pointed out the duty of the Christian community to help cure the social ills of the day, in particular that of alcoholism.

Above all, they taught that Christians ought to experience being born again, and to feel the presence of the Holy Spirit who would help them to live a life of holiness. The Bible, which was to be made available to all who wished it, would in itself be effective in bringing about this process of changing lives, and would, to all who read it be a guide for this new life, for the progress of each pilgrim. The thousands of tracts were to provide the people for little cost (and often for nothing) with Christian literature written in simple language which everyone could read and understand. Tales of the colporteurs and

others who distributed these tracts and Bibles bear witness to their efficacy, and many people were reported to have been converted through reading them.

This new Christianity was in no way a superficial acceptance of a new fad. It was, for most of those who were so converted a deep emotional experience that revealed itself in the outward manifestations of changed lives. It was a religion of the heart as well as the mind, rather than a legal system to which they adhered because it was customary or because not to do so would incur punishment. Its chief end was devotion to Jesus as Lord, to emulate the life of Christ and to obey the entreaty of Paul to the Colossians: "Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth ... Put to death therefore what is earthly in you : immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is idolatry ... Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness and patience, forbearing one another and, if one has and, if one has a complaint against another, forgiving each other; as the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive ... Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness to God." (Colossians 3:2, 5, 12, 13, 16) Thereby, to be good became more desirable than to be bad. Attending church became a desire rather than a duty. They heard the same minister preaching in the same way, but they heard those same words with a new insight, their spirits now awakened not only to hear, but to understand the Word of God.

Many of these experiences of re-birth took place in the conventicles, in which Bibles and tracts were eagerly read. As contact between the conventicles, and then between communities grew, revivals sprang up,

and by mid-century they had occurred in almost every part of the country. There is no explanation as to how these revivals started except that it was attributed to the Holy Spirit moving in the midst of the people. Nor did the revivals depend on any one factor. Certainly the widespread teaching of Biblical truth on the part of the ministers of the Swedish Church provided a broad basis of Biblical knowledge. The preaching of the Pietistic party of ministers within the church provided their listeners with a background of evangelical thinking. The practical piety of the Moravians was early known in the conventicles - in which meetings Christians were expected and urged to active participation. Before long, however, simple participation in the conventicles was not enough to satisfy the impulses within the hearts of their members to transform their feelings into some form of service.

It was exactly at this point that the four missionaries from Britain found the challenge to which their particular talents were best fitted to meet. Their training and experience in the evangelical churches in Scotland had taught them how best to tap the great resources of human talent lying dormant within the Christian Church and this ability was now to stand them in good stead. These same latent powers awaited them in the Swedish Church and almost seemed to leap into life at their touch. It took only the spark of their initiative to set the embers aglow, which by mid-century had grown into a blazing fire throughout the entire country.

With the very first tracts distributed by John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson in 1808, interest in this new and different kind of Christianity began to rise. As the demand for more tracts increased, the supply grew, translated into Swedish from the tracts published by the

Religious Tract Society in London and published by the new Evangelical Society in Stockholm founded by Mr. Paterson for that purpose. The publication of Bibles soon followed, and all were provided at a very low cost so that they were available to the poor as well as the rich, a large portion of the financing being provided by the Tract and Bible Societies in London. Eight years later, through the continued work of Mr. Paterson, the Bible Society was formed. As the revivals began to increase in number, it became evident that many of them were occurring in those areas where large numbers of tracts and Bibles had been distributed, and there could be no denying that there was a strong connection between the two.

With rare exception, these British tracts pointed the reader to the "One Thing Necessary" - the need of the individual to be born again. And they clearly explained what this meant : the individual had to recognize his sinful state and his need for salvation : this was to be followed by true repentance and a desire to know and do the will of God : this was to be accomplished through prayer and devotion and through living a life of holiness, thereby assuring him of eternal life. To the thousands of poor in the country living in near-poverty circumstances, this new Christianity provided not only an outlet for their emotions (sometimes healthy, sometimes not), but offered them comfort in their present situation and great hope for the future. To the middle and upper classes it offered a number of blessings - relief from either the drudgery of daily hard work or of boredom and an emotional excitement that lifted them above their problems and struggles. To all it offered salvation - they could be reconciled to God and be rid of guilt for their sins. It was more than Good News - it was an unbeatable formula. Little by little the movement grew until, by mid-century it covered most parts of the country.

With the arrival of the two Methodist missionaries at the end of the 1820's new life was breathed into the work, which had begun to deteriorate several years after the first two missionaries had left. Mr. Scott was a firm believer in the use of Bible and tract distribution as an aid to revival - which was his chief goal - and he immediately set about to renew the work of both the Evangelical Society and the Swedish Bible Society. His contacts with London assured these Swedish societies of the much-needed financial aid.

Within weeks of his arrival in Stockholm, his interest in the social aspects of Christianity became known, and in a very short time he was involved with organizing interested Swedes, of whom there were many, in the formation of a Temperance Society. Because alcoholism had grown to such enormous proportions and its resulting problems become so severe, interest in temperance societies grew rapidly and within a year such societies were beginning to appear in other parts of the country. Clergy and laymen alike were involved in the leadership, and Mr. Scott made sure that the movement was closely tied to the church. This was necessary not only to ensure the cooperation of the clergy, but because to him, temperance - meaning total abstinence - was necessary for a Christian in order to live a life of holiness.

By 1835 he had, together with the help of several interested clergymen built the interest in missions to such a high pitch that the Swedish Missionary Society was formed. Here too, concern and interest in the matter on the part of the Swedes had existed for several years, but for some reason, they seemed unable to transform their interest into action. It was, instead, the initiative and the organizational ability of the missionary which was necessary to perform the task. His tremendous capacity for hard work, his limitless energy and his complete

dedication to the work to which he considered he had received a holy calling seemed to inspire those about him to follow his lead and to embark with him upon his numerous ventures. This fearless leadership, often in the face of seemingly insurmountable difficulties was undoubtedly one of his outstanding contributions to the progress of free evangelical Christianity in Sweden.

As the revivals continued to grow in both fervor and number throughout the country, the spirit of freedom also grew. During the years the missionaries worked in Sweden, there was no mention of separation from the Swedish Church on their part. In fact, they often had to defend themselves against this accusation from the Swedish clergy, many of whom seemed to suspect separatism as the chief motive behind most of their activities. But all four men quickly learned that the best way to accomplish their goal of revival in Sweden would be within the framework of the Swedish church. But by 1850 this picture had changed and the idea of free churches was growing. Through the first five decades of the century the revivals and the various organizations all existed within that framework - sometimes with its approval, sometimes not. But as the strong group of the clergy who wished to retain the old "pure" Lutheran orthodoxy and be rid of the new evangelicalism gained strength, resistance to their controls also grew.

At the close of the fifth decade, the first Baptists became known in Sweden and quickly formed their own communion, by which action a church outside of the Church of Sweden was born in that country. While many were quickly drawn to this free church, it grew slowly because of the severe persecutions inflicted upon its members. Many of them were jailed, some on bread and water for thirty days, and some were exiled. But the spirit of freedom was not to be extinguished, and within a few

years there were several Baptist societies in Sweden. Not long after, the Mormon missionaries had arrived and were attempting to build their groups, and several new evangelical groups were formed within the Swedish church. Colporteurs of all groups travelled the length and breadth of the country, zealously promoting their own particular beliefs, with the result that many were growing increasingly dissatisfied with the Swedish Church and its controls. They openly flouted the old church laws, attended conventicles and frequently failed to attend church services on Sunday. Unrest was literally seething, on every level of society. By 1852 the pressures had become so severe that the clergy listed the problem of religious freedom to be of prime consideration at their general meeting in Stockholm. And in both 1853 and 1854, parliament discussed the question - not only for freedom for the conventicles - but for a general religious freedom. By the middle of that decade, feelings had become so strong and the old church laws were being ignored by such large numbers, the officials were simply powerless to impose effective disciplinary measures. Something had to be done. The result was the abrogation of the Conventicle Edict in 1858 - which thus became the first of several acts permitting freedom of worship in Sweden.

Freedom of worship in Sweden may well have been achieved had not the four missionaries come from Britain. However, the fact that they did arrive and that their preaching was such as to encourage freedom cannot be regarded as of no significance. They did arrive. They did make tracts and Bibles available to the people, which in turn resulted in revivals that brought a new spirit of evangelical Christianity to the people. They did preach the need for living holy Christian lives and the importance of sharing their new-found Christianity with others,

both in Sweden and in other parts of the world. They did practice what they preached and so inspired many others to follow their example. They did demonstrate the value of a Christian social conscience, channelling efforts of laymen as well as clergy into forming City and Seamen's Missions, temperance societies and educational groups - all of which would serve to improve the lives of others. They did teach that Christianity was a religion of freedom - salvation was God's free gift to man and man was, in return, encouraged to give himself freely to God, making church laws neither necessary nor desirable.

Their concerns and actions had been prompted by and nourished in a free church background where men's hearts and minds were beckoned - not forced - into commitment and service to God. One need not hesitate to say on close examination, that the scope of their contributions to the religious life in Sweden and to the rise of a free evangelical Christianity was such that it should be given far greater acknowledgement than has hitherto been done.

One must recognize that the way had been well-prepared for their arrival by the Pietists and the Moravians. As has been seen, there were many in Sweden of both clergy and laity who were aware of the existing problems and needs and who longed to do something about them, but who simply had not been able to find the solutions. Within the confines of the strict church laws, to which they had been subject for many years, they were unable to discover and use the loopholes through which they could have found the way to solving those problems. The four British evangelical ministers who came to Sweden saw the need and discovered ways in which to fill them. To their experience,

initiative and unquenchable zeal was quickly added the strength, talent and unlimited energy of the Swedes themselves, and thus, their joint activity helped to bring about a great spiritual renewal in Sweden which culminated in freedom of religion in that country.

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